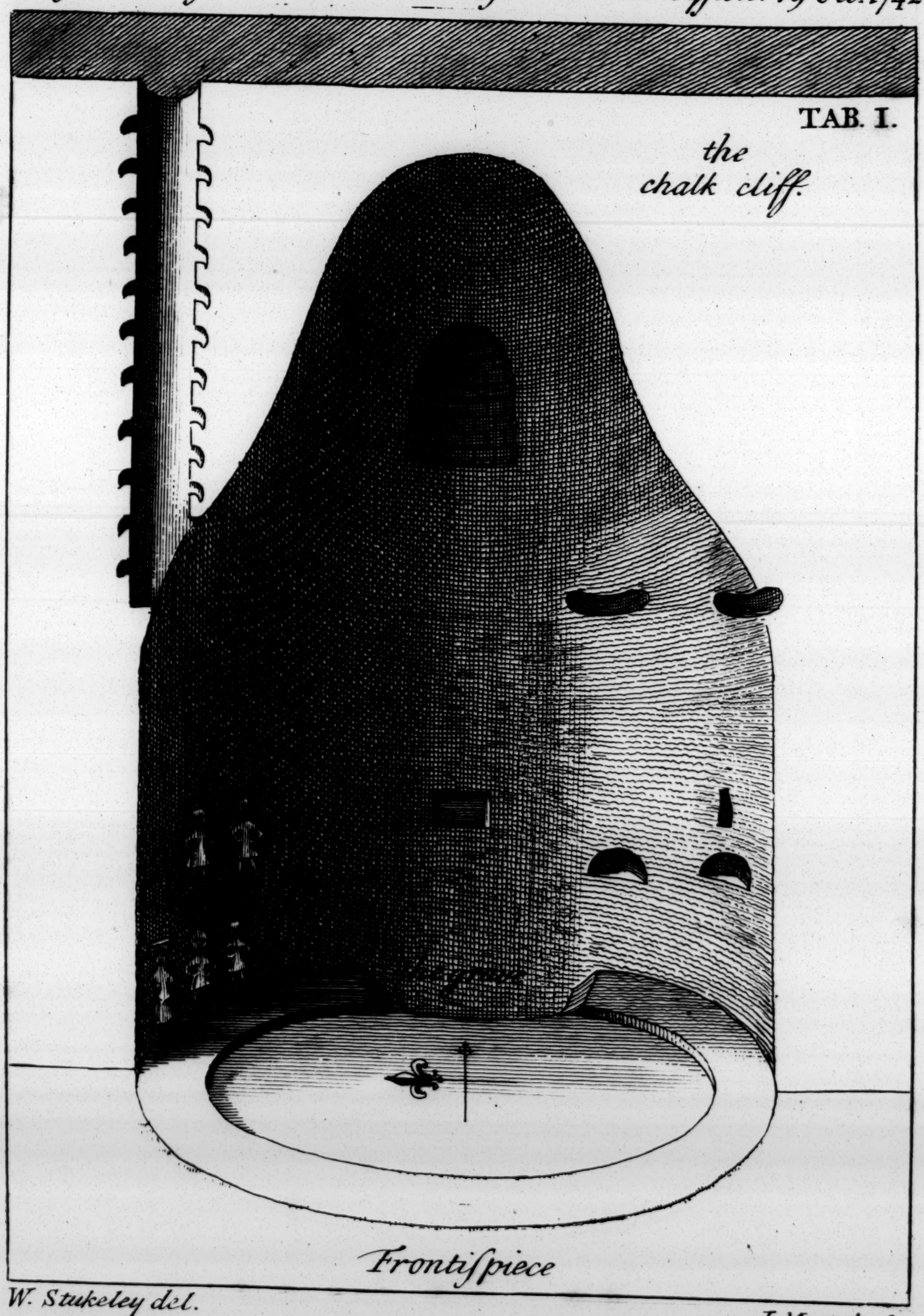
*A ſection of* ROISIA'S *Mauſoleum at Royſton. 19 Oct. 1742.*

TAB. I.




*Frontiſpiece*

*W. Stukeley del.*

*J. Mynde ſc.*

# Palæographia Britannica:

OR,

# DISCOURSES

ON

# ANTIQUITIES

IN

# *BRITAIN.*

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NUMBER I.

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*Origines Royſtonianæ*, or, an account of the Oratory of Lady ROISIA Foundreſs of *Royſton*, diſcovered at *Royſton*, in auguſt 1742.

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By *WILLIAM STUKELEY*, Rector of All-ſaints *in* Stamford. Also Rector of St. George the Martyr's Square.

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——*Superaſque evadere ad auras,*
*Hic labor, hoc opus eſt*——. Virgil.

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*LONDON:*

Printed for R. MANBY, on *Ludgate-Hill*, over-againſt the *Old-Bailey*. MDCCXLIII.

B L

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

# The Lord *HARDWICK*,

Lord High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*, &c. &c.

BE pleaſed, My Lord, to accept of this public teſtimony of my grateful ſentiment, for a favor you once offered me, when not perſonally known to you. Give me leave to beg your protection for the memory of a noble lady, of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious houſe of the earls of *Oxford*, lately reſtored to light, in the neighborhood of your Lordſhip's fine ſeat of *Wimpole*. I wiſh this account of it might be ſome entertainment, to part of a leſs important hour (if any hour of yours can be leſs important) when, for the good of the publick, you ſeek a relaxation, in that delightful retreat.

From this monument, which I have here treated on, we have proofs of ſome material events in engliſh hiſtory; in one of which, the

adminiſtration of the laws of our country, is concerned: the ſupreme ſeat of which, your Lordſhip moſt worthily fills and adorns.

Time, that diminiſhes moſt things, may poſſibly add to the bulk of this work, and render it a volume; and more worthy of your Lordſhip's patronage.

As my deſire in printing this diſcourſe, is to pleaſe the publick, I am ſure, I ſhall ſerve them, in detaining your Lordſhip no longer with this addreſs.

*I am,*

MY LORD,

*Your Lordſhip's moſt devoted,*

*humble Servant,*

WILLIAM STUKELEY.

# Palaeographia Britannica:

## OR,

## Diſcourſes on ANTIQUITIES in BRITAIN.

19. *Octob.* 1742.

THE country about *Royſton* is part of that great chalk-down, which extends it's ſelf acroſs the kingdom from *Dorſetſhire* to *Norfolk*. It has a fine turf, and abounds with *Britiſh* barrows, and other antiquities, as uſual to this kind of country. For the *Britons* delighting exceedingly in horſes and chariots, (a manner which they brought with them from the eaſtern countries of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*) they frequented theſe agreeable downs; and their great men were buried in theſe barrows or *tumuli*. At *Royſton* was one of their great panegyres or publick places of meeting; to celebrate a religious annual feſtival, and to ſacrifice. Whereat likewiſe, was feaſting, muſick, games, horſe-races and the like. But of this I ſhall take another occaſion, to ſpeak more particularly.

The magnanimous *Romans*, when they became maſters of the iſland, with a publick ſpirit never enough to be commended, drew many roads in a ſtrait line quite acroſs the iſland, in ſeveral directions. Two of theſe great roads meet at *Royſton*, and croſs one another. The one comes from the ſeaſide of *Suſſex* by *Newhaven*,

paſſes through *London*, *Hertford*, *Royſton*, and ſo proceeds by *Stamford* to *Scotland*. 'Tis called *Hermen-ſtreet*; a word in *Saxon*, equivalent to *via militaris*. The other road begins at the ſea-ſide in *Dorſetſhire* about *Weymouth*, proceeds north-eaſtward along this track of the chalky country, by *Dunſtable*, *Royſton*, and terminates on the *Norfolk* coaſt near *Yarmouth*. It is called the *Ikenil*, or *Ikening-ſtreet*, in Latin *Via Iceniana*, becauſe it goes to the country of the *Icenians*.

As theſe two great roads croſs each other at *Royſton*, 'tis not doubtful, that there was a Roman town here originally; Roman coins are often found. Mr. *Lettis*, a gentleman of candor, gave me one lately taken up, of braſs plated over with ſilver; the heads of *Nero* and *Agrippina*, face to face, AGRIPP. AVG. DIVI. CLAVD. NERONIS. CAES. MATER. reverſe in a civic garland, EX. S. C. around it, NERONI. CLAVD. DIVI. F. CAES. AUG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. it has the ſame obverſe and inſcription on both ſides, as the gold one at *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, another of the ſame in ſilver lately found at *Colcheſter*. Salmon's, *Eſſex*, p. 425. This Roman town was quite demoliſhed either by the *Scots* and *Picts*, when they invaded the *South*, after the Roman arms were withdrawn, or when our *Saxon* anceſtors ravaged the Country in order to ſubdue it; or after them the *Danes*.

In the time of the conqueſt was an open uninhabited country; concerning which, 'tis fit we ſhould

repeat what our great *Camden* ſays concerning it. " Upon the very edge of the county of *Hertford* to " the *North*, where it toucheth upon *Cambridgeſhire*, " ſtandeth *Royſton*, a town of much note, but not " ancient; as having riſen ſince the *Norman* con- " queſt. For in thoſe days, there was a famous lady " named *Royſia*, (by ſome ſuppoſed to have been Coun- " teſs of *Norfolk)* who erected a croſs upon the road " ſide in this place; from thence for many years call- " ed *Royſes-Croſs*; 'till ſuch time as *Euſtace de Marc* " founded juſt by it a ſmall monaſtery, to the ho- " nour of St. *Thomas*. Upon this occaſion, inns began " to be built, and by degrees it came to be a town; " which inſtead of *Royſes-Croſs*, took the name of " *Royſes* town, contracted into *Royſton*. *Richard* the " firſt granted it a fair to be kept at a ſet time, as " alſo a market; which in our days is very famous, " and much frequented on account of the malt-trade. " For it is almoſt incredible what a multitude of corn " merchants, malſters, and the like dealers in grain, " do weekly reſort to this market; and what a vaſt " number of horſes laden with corn, do on thoſe days " fill all the road about it."

Thus far Mr. *Camden*. This town is not mentioned in *Domeſday*, as then not in being. In my *Itinerarium Curioſum*, pag. 76, I took notice of the remnant or foundation-ſtone of *Roiſia's-Croſs* here erected ſtill remaining; where the two Roman roads croſs each other. 'Tis a flattiſh ſtone of a very great bulk with a ſquare hole or mortaiſe in the center, wherein was let the foot

foot of the upright ſtone or tenon of that which was properly the Croſs. This was a large and high ſtone, and had another carved one on the top of it like a crown-work or capital, upon which was the croſs properly, or crucifix carved. In the *Saxon* times and after, it was a very uſual thing for religious people to ſet up theſe monuments called croſſes by highway ſides, and eſpecially where ſeveral roads met. A like one called *High-Croſs* in *Northamptonſhire*, where two Roman roads croſs each other, the *Foſs* and the *Watling-ſtreet*. It ſeems to me, to have been a cuſtom deduced from *Druid* times, and ſomewhat in imitation of their *main amber* ſtones: and *that* taken from the *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, and other moſt ancient and oriental nations; who ſet up ſuch ſtones for religious purpoſes. The *Turks* deſcended from the *Arabians*, ſtill practiſe the method, or what is of the like uſe, and call it a *Kebla*, or place whereto they turn their faces in their devotions. The *Egyptian* obeliſcs are to be referred to this ſame intent. Of which ſort too, was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden image, in ſcripture.

Theſe croſſes thus ſet by road-ſides, ſerved two good purpoſes, to put people in mind of ſaying their prayers; and of directing them in the road they wanted to go. A lettered direction there were few at that time of day could read, therefore uſually ſome perſon reſided at the place, on purpoſe to direct them. And many religious people in thoſe times built themſelves cells, and ſpent their whole life there, that they might be uſeful in directing travellers, and in praying for them

them, as an act of great charity and benevolence. And ever ſince the beginning of chriſtianity to this time, it has been a frequent cuſtom for perſons of a ſerious and religious diſpoſition, to ſequeſter themſelves from the world, and make them cells and grotto's in rocks and caverns, and by highway ſides. It is an uſage ſtill continued in popiſh countries. Thus I ſuppoſe lady ROISIA choſe to devote herſelf in this very place, where ſhe built the croſs.

This lady was of moſt noble blood, deſcended from the Earls of *Oxford*. The ground was her own poſſeſſion. And ſhe probably built a cell, where the mercat croſs of *Royſton* now ſtands, or a little more to the ſouth-eaſt of it, where the houſes ſtand, on the ſouth-ſide of the *Ikenil-ſtreet*, oppoſite to the croſs. Here ſhe lived at leaſt occaſionally, and ſpent her latter time in meditation, reading, works of charity and prayer: and either dug herſelf, or cauſed to be dug, in the ſolid chalk, the cavity lately diſcovered, as an *adytum* or inner chapel. And in imitation of her grand-father *Vere*, her brother *Nigel de Albany*, and many more, about that time, ſhe here abandoned the grandeur of her houſe for a cell, and probably deſigned this crypt to be the place of her ſepulture.

In the month of *auguſt* this year, 1742. they had occaſion to ſet down a poſt in the mercat-houſe, to nail a bench on, for the uſe of the mercat-women. In digging, they ſtruck through the eye, or central hole of a millſtone, laid underground; and found a cavity of about ſixteen foot deep: as appeared by letting down a plumb-

line. They took up the millſtone, and ſaw a well-like deſcent, of about two foot diameter, with holes cut in the chalk, at equal diſtances, and oppoſite to each other, like the ſteps of a ladder, for deſcent. It was accurately circular and perpendicular. They let a boy down, and from his report of it's paſſing into another cavity, a ſlender man with a lighted candle, who confirmed the report; that the other cavity was filled with looſe earth, yet not quite touching the wall, which he ſaw, on the right and left.

The people now entertained a notion of great treaſure, hid in this place: and ſome workmen enlarged the deſcent. Then with buckets and a well-kirb, they ſet to work in earneſt, to draw away the earth and rubbiſh that filled it. When they came to the level of this deſcent, they run along ſpit downwards and found the earth ſtill looſe. The vaſt concourſe of people becoming now very troubleſome, they were obliged to work by night. By unwearied diligence they came to diſcover ſome images cut on the wall. At length they quite exhauſted it, and drew out the quantity of two hundred load of earth, and rubbiſh, with which the whole cavity was filled. Mr. *George Lettis*, and *William Lilly* taylor and ſaleſman, who lives in the houſe over it, were the chief movers in opening and emptying the place.

Then fully appeared this agreeable, ſubterraneous receſs, hewn out of pure chalk: of about thirty foot high, and nearly twenty foot diameter. 'Tis of an elegant bell-like, or rather mitral form; well turned,

and

and exactly circular. The effect of it is very pleaſing. The light of the candles ſcarce reaches the top, and that gloomineſs over head increaſes the ſolemnity of the place. All around the ſides, it is adorned with imagery in *baſſo relievo*, of crucifixes, ſaints, martyrs, and hiſtorical pieces, which the pious lady has cut for her entertainment; and to adminiſter a help to her devotions. They are cut with a deſign and rudeneſs ſuitable to the time and manner wherein ſhe lived; which was ſoon after the conqueſt. I have given a plate * which is a ſection of this grot, together with the manner of the deſcent. The cut is ſuppoſed to be made on the meridian line, and preſents the eaſtern half of the place. A kind of broad bench goes quite round the floor, next the wall; broader than a ſtep, and not ſo high as a ſeat. This was deſigned for her kneeling upon, rather for proſtration, in her particular acts of devotion. This bench is cut off in the eaſtern point, by what I call the grave, which is dug deeper into the chalk.

* TAB. I.

I have ſeen many of like works as this, in my travels in *England*. They are called commonly, hermitages. They abound in *Yorkſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, all along the ſide of the river *Severn:* and whereever a rock above ground favors the purpoſe. In this country our devout lady made uſe of the native chalk, a more elegant kind of materials.

In this plate of the ſection, we may obſerve toward the top, a piece of maſonry. They that viewed it near

near, ſay it is made of brick, tile and ſtone, laid with very good mortar. Some think this was done, to mend a defective part in the chalky cliff. Perhaps it was the original deſcent of ROISIA, out of her cell. From this ſhe went down by a ladder. But after ſhe was buried here, directly underneath, in this eaſtern point of the cell: or perhaps, as it was deſigned, ſhe ſhould be; they made the preſent paſſage upward, and walled up the other.

This was, in my opinion, the oratory of the lady ROISIA. Hither ſhe retired, ſtill further from the world, for particular devotions, for a meditation on death, to anticipate (as it were) her ſtate of diſſolution: this was occaſionally the place of her living death, and deſigned for her final ſepulture. Her ſcull and bones were found in the earth toward the bottom, as they emptied the place. They ſaid, the bones were very much decayed, and for the moſt part carried away with the rubbiſh. Her ſcull is ſtill kept in the place, but broken into ſeveral pieces. Her teeth were very firm and white, and taken away by the towns-people, and ſome of her bones too; though they were not acquainted with her name and circumſtance. I attentively viewed and conſidered her ſcull. Anatomiſts know very well, to diſtinguiſh a man's from a woman's. By all the ſkill I can pretend to in that ſcience, I dare pronounce it to be female: and we have no reaſon to doubt, that it was the head of our famous recluſe.

I made two ſketches of the imagery, with accuracy enough: The work is done with little art; but in the taſte

taſte of that age. The two plates takes in nearly, the whole circumference of this curious crypt. TAB. II. III.

For the entertainment of the inquiſitive reader, on occaſion of this diſcovery, and in honor to the memory of the foundreſs of the good town of *Royſton*, I ſhall give I. a ſuccinct account of this lady and her family. II. endeavour to explain the imagery, on the wall of this chapel.

Our lady *Roheſia*, ROISIA, or in plain *engliſh*, *Roſe*, was daughter to the great *Alberic* or *Aubry de Vere*, the ſecond of that name, eldeſt ſon of *Alberic de Vere*, earl of *Guiſnes*; who came into *England* with *William* the conqueror. He had a younger brother who died young and unmarried, *Geffery:* who gave to the abby of *Abingdon*, the church of *Kenſington*. *Hern's Benedict*, abbot of *Peterburgh* in the preface. Our *Alberic de Vere*, father of ROISIA, was a man of conſummate wiſdom and eloquence. He ſucceeded to his father's inheritance in the ſecond year of *William Rufus*, 1088. he was admitted to the intimate counſels of king *Henry* I. and of great authority under him in the commonwealth. He was made chief juſtice of *England*, and portgreve or ſheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*. An office, in thoſe days, before the city was privileged to chuſe her own magiſtrates, of principal authority: and conferred only on men of noble birth and approved loyalty. Further, to the increaſe of his honor, the king beſtowed on him the office of lord high-chamberlain of *England*, to hold

in fee, and inheritance. From him it is hereditarily deſcended to the dukes of *Ancaſter*. He had a vaſt eſtate both in *England* and beyond ſea. He lived in his caſtle of *Heveningham* in *Eſſex*, and *Caſtle-Camps* in *Cambridgeſhire*.

He married *Adeliza*, daughter of *Gilbert de Clare*, lord of *Tonbridg*, ſirnamed *Criſpin*, earl of *Brien* in *Normandy*. His father's name was *Geffery*, who came over with the conqueror. His firſt ſeat was at *Benefield* in *Northamptonſhire*, then at *Tonbridg*. *Gilbert de Clare* married *Adeliza*, daughter to the earl of *Clermont*.

*Alberic de Vere*, father of ROISIA, lived 52 years after his father, in much honor and favor with his prince, but died in the troubleſom time of king *Stephen*, whoſe party he did not favor. So that the king ſeized him and his ſon-in-law, *Geffrey de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex*, who married his daughter ROISIA, and confined them in his court at St. *Alban*'s, till he compelled them to part with ſome of their caſtles. *Aubry de Vere* ſurrendered his caſtle of *Canfield magna* in *Eſſex*. *Geffery de Magnavile*, was obliged to ſurrender the tower of *London*, *Walden*-caſtle, and that of *Pleſſis*. This was in 1142. ſays *Hoveden*, *Henry Hunt*, *annales Dunſtaple*, &c. It is wrote in a MS. *Math. Paris* in the king's library, that Sir *Geffery de Magnavile* had a very ſharp ſkirmiſh with the king's party, before they could lay hold of him. *Albery de Vere* died 1143. his wife lived his widow 20 years, and died 1163.

Their iſſue.

1. *Albery de Vere*, the third of that name, firſt earl of *Oxford*, he died 1194.

2. *Geffery de Vere* a baron: died before his father.

3. *William de Vere*, made biſhop of *Hereford* 1186. a great builder.

4. *Gilbert de Vere*, lord of *Raynham* in *Eſſex*: buried in St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*'s *London*.

5. A ſon profeſſed in religion, canon of St. *Oſiths at Chich*. He wrote the life of St. *Oſith*, the daughter of *Edelfrith* king of *Northumberland*, who died A. D. 617. She, after marriage, devoted herſelf to a religious life, and built a noble monaſtery called by her name, near the ſeaſide in *Eſſex*. Her *obit* is celebrated 7 *octob*. *Aubry de Vere* the ſecond earl of *Oxford*, was a benefactor to that houſe: and others of this family.

6. A daughter, our ROISIA.

7. Another daughter *Alice* married to *Suene de Eſſex*, who had a ſon *Robert Fitz-Suene*, founder of the priory of *Prittlewell*.

The deſcent of our foundreſs's father, which was moſt honourable and illuſtrious, to avoid tediouſneſs, I have given in an heraldical method. From him, ſcarce any noble family in *England*, but have inriched their blood. Her grandmother was ſiſter to the conqueror, the daughter of *Herlwin de Burgo*, from whom the whole race of the earls of *Albemarle* are deſcended.

The

# The GENEALOGY of Dame ROISIA de Vere, Foundreſs of *ROYSTON*.

*SYFORD*, the noble *Norman*, lord of *Guiſnes*, which he conquered. = *ELSTRUDE*, daughter of *Arnold* I. Earl of *Flanders*.

*Adolf*, Earl of *Guiſnes*. = *Maud*, daughter and heir of *Erniculus* Earl of *Boloign*.

1. *Reginald*, Earl of *Boloign*.

2. *Manaſſes*. = *Petronia*.

*Alphonſus de Vere*, lord of the iſle of *Walkeren*, and town of *Vere* in *Zealand*, ob. 13. *May*, A. D. 938. = *Katherine*, daughter of *Arnold*, 2d Earl of *Flanders* and of *Roſe* his wife, daughter of *Berengar* king of *Lombardy*.

*Alberic de Vere* I. earl of *Guiſnes*, who came in with *William* the conqueror, ob. 1088. = *Beatrix*, ſiſter to *William* the conqueror, daughter to *Harlwin de Burgo*, a noble knight.

*Alberic de Vere* II. lord high chamberlain of *England*, ob. 1140. = *Adeliza*, daughter to *Gilbert de Clare*, lord of *Tonbridg*, *illa* ob. 1163.

*Hubert de Brie* of *Normandy*.

*Peter de Valoines*. = *Albreda*.

*Walter Giffard*, Earl of *Buckingham*.

*Roger de Valoines*. = *Gundreda de Warren*.

*Gilbert*.

1. *Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare*. = *Roiſia*.

2. *Eudo Dapifer*, founder of St. *John*'s monaſtery *Colcheſter*, ob. 1120. = *Roiſia*.

*Lecelina*. = *Geffrey de Magnavile*. = *Adeliza*.

*William de Magnavile*. = *Margaret* heireſs.

*William de Say* = *Beatrix*.

*William de Say*. *Geffery*.

Sir *Geffery de Mandevile* firſt Earl of *Eſſex*, ob. 1144. = ROISIA *de Vere*, foundreſs of *Royſton*.

1. *Payn de Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*, ſon of *Hugh de Beauchamp*. = 2.

*Alberic de Vere* III. Earl of *Oxford*.

*Alice*. = *Suene* of *Eſſex*.

1. *Arnold de Mandevile*, ob. ſ. p.

2. *Geffery de Magnavile*, Earl of *Eſſex*, ob. ſ. p. 1176.

4. *Robert*, obiit ſ. p.

1. *Chriſtiana* daughter of *Robert Fitz-walter*. = 3. *William de Magnavile*, Earl of *Eſſex*, obiit 1189.

2. *Avis*, daughter and heireſs of *Will. le Groſs*, Earl of *Albemarl*.

*Simon de Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*.

A da^r. = *Mowbray*.

A da^r. = *Wake*.

A da^r. = *Fitzothes*.

*Aubrey*

*Aubrey de Vere* the third of that name, brother of our ROISIA, was the firſt earl of *Oxford*, by the gift of *Maud* the empreſs, contending with king *Stephen*. He took part with her, mindful of the royal favors beſtowed on his family by king *Henry* I. her father. In his youth, he ſerved in the wars in the holy land, and behaved with great honor. This humor began in 1096. revived again in 1147. when *Aubery de Vere* went. They bore croſſes, that went on that pious expedition, which was a great occaſion of coats armorial. Now he divided his coat by a croſs. He enjoyed the earldom 54 years, and died 1194.

He married firſt *Eufemia*, daughter of Sir *William Cantelupe* knight, founder of the nunnery at *Iklington* in *Cambridgeſhire*. Whoſe wife *Lucia* was the firſt prioreſs there. No iſſue.

2. He married *Adeliza*, daughter of *Henry* of *Eſſex*, conſtable and baron of *Raleigh*: they had iſſue.

*Aubery de Vere* earl of *Oxford*: without iſſue.

*Robert de Vere* earl of *Oxford*, after his brother.

*Henry de Vere*, from whom the Lord *Mordaunts* are deſcended. He was conſtable of *Gyſors*.

*Adeliza*.

*Sarah*, wife of *Richard Engayn* of *Blatherwic*.

3. He married *Adeliza*, daughter of *Robert Conſul*, earl of *Gloceſter*.

To return, Dame ROISIA *de Vere* was firſt married to Sir *Geffery de Magnavile* the firſt earl of *Eſſex*, ſo named from a village in *Normandy*, which was his poſſeſſion: often called *Mandevile*. He was ſon of *William de Magnavile* by *Margaret*, daughter and heireſs of the great *Eudo Dapifer* (the ſewer) founder of the magnificent monaſtery of St. *John*'s at *Colcheſter*; whoſe gatehouſe ſtill remains: who was buried there, likewiſe *Roiſia* his wife, daughter of *Walter Giffard* earl of *Buckingham*. This *Eudo* died *Feb.* 28. 1120. He built, at leaſt repair'd the caſtle of *Colcheſter*: his ſiſter *Albreda* married *Peter de Valoines*. She founded the priory of *Binham* in *Norfolk*. His wife *Roiſia* repaired the monaſtery of St. *Neots*, in the time of *Hen.* I. and gave her town of *Eynesbury* to it. Sir *Geffery*'s grandfather was *Geffery de Magnavile*, who came into *England* with *William* the conqueror: a moſt valiant ſoldier, and behaved very couragiouſly at the famous battle of *Haſtings*. He had a very great eſtate given him by the conqueror, in many counties, as appears in *Domeſday* book. He founded the abby of *Hurley* in *Barkſhire*.

Our Sir *Geffery* was heir both to his father and mother, ſo that he had an immenſe eſtate, in *England* and *Normandy*. He was the firſt Earl of *Eſſex*, created by charter of *Maud* the Empreſs, which original charter is now in the *Cotton* library. It was confirmed by king *Stephen*. He gave to the monaſtery of *Hurley* of his

grandfather's founding, one hundred ſhillings yearly rent. He founded the great abby of *Walden*, where *Audleyinn* houſe now ſtands, conſecrated by *Robert* biſhop of *London*, *Nigel* biſhop of *Ely*, and *William* biſhop of *Norwich* 1136. himſelf and ROISIA his wife preſent, and all his principal tenants. He endowed it largely. He was moreover of a warlike and magnanimous diſpoſition; and ſo much reſented king *Stephen*'s uſage of him and his father-in-law *Aubery de Vere*, at St. *Albans*, as afore-mentioned, that he broke out into open war againſt him. But the King diſpoſſeſſed him of all his inheritance, his ſewerſhip, the ſtewardſhip of *Normandy*, the ſheriffalty of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Hertfordſhire*, the conſtableſhip of the tower of *London*, of *Walden* where he built the caſtle, as the head of his honor; and in a word, of all his great poſſeſſions both in *England* and *Normandy*. Our earl kept *Ramſey-Abby* as a caſtle, and lived upon ſpoiling king *Stephens*'s demeſnes and friends. He married his ſiſter *Beatrix* to *William de Say*, a warlike man, whom he took of his party, with many ſoldiers; and did the king great damage. At length he received a wound in his head at the caſtle of *Burwell* in *Cambridgeſhire*, which, out of his heroic diſpoſition, he neglected and died of it, the ſixteenth of the calends of *October* 1144. they durſt not bury him in his abby of *Walden* which he founded becauſe he was excommunicated, for turning the monks out of *Ramſey-Abby*. But he died with great contrition for his ſins, and making what ſatisfaction he could. So that ſome knights Templars put upon his body the habit of their order, with a red croſs,

and

and carried it to the temple in *London*, incloſed it in lead and laid it on a crooked tree in the garden. *Hen. Huntindon* the old edit. p. 235. *Camden's Eſſex*, *Salmon's Hertford*, *pag.* 99. At length, after ſome time, *William*, prior of his abby of *Walden*, out of regard to the dead hero, and in order to get his body buried in his abby, by great expence obtained a pardon for him, and abſolution, of pope *Alexander* the third; ſo that the body was received among chriſtians, and divine offices celebrated for him: and he was buried in the porch, before the weſt-door of the preſent temple church.

*Geffery de Magnavile* had iſſue by a former wife *Alice*, married to *John de Lacy*, conſtable of *Cheſter*, and lord of *Halton*.

When *Geffery de Magnavile* was made earl, he added an eſcarbuncle of gold to his arms, which was quarterly before.

The iſſue of *Geffery de Magnavile*, earl of *Eſſex*, and of ROISIA *de Vere*.

1. *Arnold de Magnavile*, who perſiſting in his father's rebellion againſt king *Stephen*, was baniſhed the land and died without iſſue.

2. *Geffery de Mandevile*, earl of *Eſſex*. Through the favor of king *Henry* II. he was reſtored to the earldom of *Eſſex*, with the third penny of all pleas within the county,

county, together with all the lands and honors held by his father, grandfather and great grandfather, as well in *England* as in *Normandy*: eſpecially *Walden*, *Sabridgworth* and *Waltham*. Alſo the fee which king *Henry* his grandfather had out of the ſaid three manors: for ever quit claimed to him and to his heirs: to hold the ſaid county of *Eſſex* as fully and freely as any earl in *England* or *Normandy* held their earldom. Witneſſes to the charter, *Reginald*, earl of *Cornwall*, *Robert*, earl of *Leiceſter*, *Roger*, earl of *Clare*, *Henry* of *Eſſex*, conſtable, *Richard de Humet*, conſtable, *Richard de Luci* and many biſhops. Done at *Canterbury*. It is now in the *Cotton* library. With *William* and *Robert* his brothers, he confirmed to the religious of *Chickſand* of counteſs ROISIA's foundation, their mother, the ſcite of a grange and lordſhip in *Chipenham*, which ſhe gave them. He married *Euſtachia*, kinſwoman to the king, but divorcing her, ſo incenſed the king that he took away the lordſhips of *Walden* and *Waltham*. He died without iſſue, the twelfth of the calends of *november* 1167. in an expedition againſt the *Welſh*, whereon he was ſent by king *Henry* II. and was buried with great pomp in the midſt of the choir at *Walden*. He was a man eloquent of ſpeech, of great ability in civil affairs, as well as military.

3. *William de Magnavile*, ſon of Sir *Geffery de Magnavile* and lady ROISIA *de Vere*, was earl of *Eſſex* after the deceaſe of his brother *Geffery*. A man who inherited all his father's and brother's ſpirit and heroic ardor. King *Henry* II. took him into great

favor. He was conſtantly in his court. He partook with him in all his *French*, *Welſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* wars. The king gave him leave to fortify his caſtle of *Pleſſy*, in *Eſſex*.

*Firſt*, He was next married to *Chriſtian*, the daughter of *Robert Fitzwalter*, lord of *Woodham Walter* in *Eſſex*; without iſſue.

*Secondly*, He married *Avis*, the daughter and heireſs of *William le Gros*, earl of *Albemarle*; with whom he had likewiſe that earldom, as alſo the lordſhip of *Holderneſs* in *Yorkſhire*. The marriage was ſolemniſed with great pomp at *Pleſſy*, the ninth of the kalends of *february* 1179, *William* earl of *Albemarle* died that year and was buried at *Thornton-abby*, *Lincolnſhire*, which he founded. In 1173. *William de Magnavile* was with the king in *Normandy*, at *Vernoul*. *Benedict*. *abbot*, p. 43. 58. In 1175. he was a witneſs to the agreement made at *Windſor* between king *Henry* and *Roderic* king of *Conaught*. He was witneſs likewiſe to a charter of *Henry* II. to S. *Paul*'s church *Bedford*. *Dugd*. *Mon*. II. p. 239. In 1176. he went to *Jeruſalem*, with *Philip*, earl of *Flanders*. *Benedict* p. 160. In 1181. he attended king *Henry* into *France*, being one of the generals of his army there. In 1182. he was ſent ambaſſador to the emperor *Frederick* II. to pacify his wrath againſt *Henry* duke of *Saxony*.

Our *William de Magnavile*, earl of *Eſſex*, in 1184. at *Weſtminſter*, in preſence of the king gave to the mo-

naſtery

naſtery of S. *John* at *Clerkenwell* ten deer yearly, out of his chaſe at *Enfield*. He gave them too a manor in *Chipenham*, except the church and the lands belonging to *Chikeſand* nunnery. *Dugd. Mon.* II. p. 544. In 1186. he was ſent by the king to make a truce with the king of *France*. *Hoveden*, p. 361. in 1188. he fought the king of *France* who burnt his caſtle of *Albemarle*, *ibidem*, p. 367. He fought valiantly with *William de Barry*, *Dreu de Merlon* and others, *Dugdale's Baron.* then he deſtroyed the *french* king's garden, burnt the town of *S. Clere*. At the coronation of king *Richard* I. he carried the crown imperial of gold, adorned with precious ſtones of great value. He did many feats of arms, and died at *Roan* 18 calends, *december* 1190. without iſſue. His body was interred in the chapter-houſe of the abby of *Mortimer* in *Normandy:* his heart in his abby of *Walden*, in the chapter-houſe there. He founded the monaſtery of *Stonely com. Huntendon*, and did many other acts of piety, as may be read in *Dugdale's Baronage*, at large. His aunt *Beatrix* was his heir, who married to *William* lord *Say*, and in her right, earl of *Eſſex:* who had iſſue that took the name of *Magnavile*. She gave the church of *Elſenham* in *Eſſex* to the monaſtery of *Walden* founded by her nephew.

*Avis le Gros*, the widow of *William de Magnavile*, counteſs of *Albemarle*, was again married to *Baldwin de Bethune*, earl of *Liſle*. And thirdly to *William de Fortibus*, who had a ſon *William*, who was earl of *Albemarle*.

4. There

4. There was another ſon *Robert de Magnavile*, of Sir *Geffery*, and lady ROISIA, who, I ſuppoſe, died without iſſue, before the laſt *William* earl of *Eſſex*.

Lady ROISIA *de Vere*, was ſecondly married to *Paganus* or *Payn de Beauchamp*, the third baron of *Bedford*, created by *William Rufus*. He was ſecond ſon to *Hugh de Beauchamp*, who came into *England* with *William* the conqueror, for which he had a vaſt eſtate given him in *Bedfordſhire*, *Bucks*, *Hertfordſhire*, and elſewhere, as appears in *Domeſday-book*. He gave to the abby of *Thorney* lands in *Elbodeſey*. *Mon. Angl.* He had three ſons, *Simon*, *Payn* and *Milo*. This *Hugh* was created by the conqueror, baron of *Bedford*, whoſe eldeſt ſon *Simon* died without iſſue, being ſteward to king *Stephen*. His brother *William*, who likewiſe came into *England* in aid of the conqueror, had iſſue three daughters; *Maud* married to *Robert Mowbray*; *Beatrice* to *William* lord *Latymer*; and *Ella* to *Nicholas Pigot*, from whom is deſcended the *Gaſcoynes* of *Bedfordſhire*.

This *Hugh de Beauchamp*, father to lady ROISIA's ſecond huſband, had another brother *Walter de Beauchamp*, who likewiſe came to the aid of the conqueror, and by him was created baron of *Elmeſley*, *Worceſterſhire*. From him is deſcended *Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*: *Beauchamp* earl of *Worceſter*: *Beauchamp* baron *de Powick*: *Beauchamp* baron *de Holt*: *Beauchamp* baron *de Abergavenny*: and *Beauchamp* lord of S. *Amand*.

The *Bedfordſhire* branch to which our ROISIA belongs, lived in the caſtle of *Bedford*, which her huſband built; and at the *Hoff* in *Bletneſhoe*, or *Bletſoe*, near *Bedford:* where the lord St. *John* now dwells, who is deſcended from them: as well as the *Seymours Beauchamps*, and *Piercys* of the duke of *Somerſet*'s family. *Hoff* is an old *ſaxon* word, for a ſeat or dwelling belonging to a great perſonage.

Near *Bedford*, where lady ROISIA lived with her ſecond huſband, are two very ancient religious houſes, built about the ſame time: *Ellenſtow* now *Elſtow* a nunnery, by *Judith*, niece to the conqueror, counteſs of *Northumberland* and *Huntindon*, wife of the great earl *Waltheof.* She dedicated it to the empreſs *Helena*, a *britiſh* lady, mother to *Conſtantin* the great. The other a priory of canons regular at *Newenham*, was built by our ROISIA, to which ſhe tranſlated the religious, from the church of S. *Paul* in *Bedford*, as Mr. *Camden* writes. Further ſhe and her huſband *Payn de Beauchamp*, founded a nunnery at *Chikeſand*, by *Shelford* in *Bedfordſhire:* where they were both buried: as ſome writers ſay.

*Payn de Beauchamp* and his counteſs ROISIA gave lands to *Thorney-abby:* it was part of her jointure. *Dugdale's Mon. tom.* I. p. 245. *Baronage, Bedf.* p. 223.

*Milo*, younger brother to *Payn de Beauchamp*, died without iſſue, he made *Payn* his heir, and with his

 conſent

conſent gave to the monks of *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*, a mill, 27 *H.* II.

To *Payn de Beauchamp* and lady ROISIA were born one ſon and three daughters.

1. *Simon de Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*, he gave to the abby of *Chikeſand* of his mother's founding, the churches of *Chikeſand* and *Hagenes*, with the grange of *Hagenes*, the churches of *Lyncelad*, *Cogepole*, *Caiſho*, *Stotfald*, and the chapel of *Eſtwick*. He confirmed the grants to *Newnham*, which the counteſs his mother made, whence ſometime called the founder. He left iſſue a ſon *William*, who lived in the caſtle at *Bedford*, the head of his honor. He was buried in *Newnham* priory aboveſaid, of his mother's founding, as one author ſays. *Milles catalogue of honour*. *Leland* writes, he was buried before the high-altar in St. *Paul*'s *Bedford*, under a flat marble, with this epitaph.

*De Bello campo jacet hic ſub marmore Simon*
*Fundator de Newebam.*

In 9th of king *John* 1206. he gave the chapel of *Eaſtwick* to it. *Chauncy*'s *Hertf. p.* 192.

2. A daughter married to *Roger Mowbray*, ſon of *Nigel de Albany* a *Norman*, bow-bearer to king *Hen.* I. by whoſe command he took the name, eſtate, and honours of *Mowbray*, baron *Mowbray*: which belonged to *Robert* earl of *Northumberland* attainted: no leſs than

than one hundred and twenty knights fees in the dukedom of *Normandy*; two hundred and forty knights fees in *England*. From this man is deſcended the *Howards* and *Berkleys*, and other noble and ancient families. This *Nigel de Albany* at laſt profeſſed a religious life.

3. A daughter, married into the ancient family of the *Wakes*, whoſe blood and eſtate came into the royal family.

4. A daughter married to —— *Fitzothes*. By theſe who were coheireſſes general to that houſe, ROISIA became the anceſtor of very many noble *engliſh* families. And as ſhe derived her blood from ſome of the *ſaxon* kings before the conqueſt, ſo ſome of the kings of *England* are deſcended from her.

Beyond controverſy, no perſon was more honorably born, or more nobly allied, than our ROISIA. By reviewing the genealogy, we may ſee the occaſions of miſtakes concerning her in authors. Her mother *Adeliza* was ſiſter to *Richard de Clare*, earl of *Clarence* and *Hertford*; whence we find it written in the margin of Mr. *Camden*, ſpeaking of her at *Royſton*, (*others ſay, ſhe was the wife of Richard de Clare*) they mean *Roiſia* the widow of *Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare*, afterward married to *Eudo Dapifer*: but *ſhe* was not the foundreſs of *Royſton*, though grandmother to our lady's firſt husband Sir *Geffery de Magnavile*.

Again, *Richard de Clare* the ſecond of that name, earl of *Gloceſter* and *Hertford*, had a daughter called *Roſe* or *Roiſia*, who was married to *Roger* the third baron *Mowbray* of *Axholm* in *Lincolnſhire*. This occaſioned that paragraph in *Camden*, in relation to our ROISIA (*by ſome ſuppoſed to have been counteſs of Norfolk*) probably ſhe had her name from our ROISIA.

ROISIA's great grandfather *Alphonſus de Vere*, married *Catharine*, daughter of *Arnold* the ſecond earl of *Flanders*, by *Roſe* his wife, daughter to *Berengar* king of *Lombardy*, from hence perhaps our ROISIA had her name.

Her family the *Veres*, as they were moſt potent and well allied, were ever much courted by the *engliſh* monarchs, and moſt noted for their ſteady loyalty. The firſt *Alberic de Vere*, earl of *Guiſnes* her grandfather, who came into *England* in aid of the conqueror, was not his ſubject. From the king he received very large poſſeſſions in *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*: particularly the towns of *Colne*, *Canfield*, *Hevening-ham*, *Belchamp*, *Bumſted*, *Radwinter*, *Bentley*, *Thunderſley*, *Belſted*, *Burgate*, *Lavenham*, *Waldingfield* and others. At *Colne* he built his ſeat and a priory: where, in his old age, he conſecrated himſelf to devotion, ended his life in a religious habit, and was buried there A. D. 1088. and it became the burying-place of his family.

Having

II. Having given this ſhort account of her noble pedigree, marriages and iſſue, I propoſe in the ſecond place, to ſpeak of the oratory found at *Royſton*. The neighboring manor of *Nuſells* to the ſouth-eaſtward, in *Barkway* pariſh, belonged to *Eudo Dapifer* above-mentioned, as recounted in *Domeſday*. In the ſame, *Barkway* is ſaid to belong to *Geffery de Mandevile*. But *Newſells* deſcended with all the great poſſeſſions of *Eudo* to that Sir *Geffery de Magnavilla* firſt huſband to our ROISIA, and moſt likely became part of her jointure or dower; which occaſioned her ſetting up the croſs here: for it is in that pariſh. In 6. *Edward* I. the jury found, that the priory of the croſs of *Roheſia* was founded on the fee of *Newſels*. *Chauncy*'s *Hertfordſhire*, p. 99. In the time of *Henry* VII. by the revolution of things, *Nuſels* manor devolved again into her own family of the *Veres*, earls of *Oxford*. *Chauncy*, p. 101. At the latter end of the year 1167. we find ROISIA reſiding with her nuns at *Chikeſand*. *Dugdale's bar*. p. 204. this was at the death of her ſon *Geffery Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex*. My opinion founded on this and many other circumſtances, concerning the chapel underground, which occaſions this diſcourſe, is, that in the latter part of her life, ſomewhat in imitation of her grandfather and ſome other near relations of hers, and of many more at that time of day, ſhe here built a cell by the croſs, and took upon herſelf an aſcetic life. She cauſed this oratory to be dug under her cell, for an inner room, chapel, or more retired place of devotion; and which ſhe probably deſigned for her place of ſepulture. For her amuſement, to be an occaſion of and aſſiſtant to

her devotions, ſhe cut the imagery on the wall, from time to time, as fancy dictated, and particular events in the hiſtory of that time; wherein her own family had a conſiderable ſhare. This I gather from view and conſideration of the cell and imagery, and all circumſtances, which I ſhall explain.

TAB. III. The grand compartiment, what we may call the upper end or high-altar, in this *ſacellum*, is directly to the weſt, oppoſite to the couch or grave, cut down below the ſurface, which is in the eaſt, this grand compartiment is a large crucifix formed in the chalk, in *baſſo relievo*, in a kind of ſquare tablet: and not ill done, for that time of day. Our ſaviour extended on the croſs, two figures ſtanding on each ſide, with their hands upon their breaſts, in a poſture of praying. Of theſe two figures, though both in long garments, yet by the head-dreſs we diſcern manifeſtly, one to be male, the other female. They are St. *John* and the bleſſed Virgin. We are to remark, that all our ſaints here have a croſs cut in the lower part of their garments. At the bottom of the croſs of the great crucifix is cut, what we call a ſaltire or St. *Andrew*'s croſs. Upon the ground or field of this great crucifix, is a heart and hand, together with a heart marked by double lines, between the figures alternately; as in the plate.

We may move a queſtion here, how it comes about that our pious lady ſet this compartiment to the weſt? In anſwer to which, we are to remark, that it may, perhaps, regard the croſs, which ſhe erected above.

Whether the croſs ſtood originally, where the bottom ſtone or foot-ſtool of it now remains; or on the contrary ſide of the *Hermenſtreet*, where the mercat-croſs now is, (as ſome affirm) ſtill the chief crucifix in our oratory regards it directly. And theſe croſſes, as I obſerved before, were really *kebla's*, and they that ſaid their prayers here, kneeled indifferently round them in any part, as their journey brought them. So that our chief crucifix in the oratory was nearly perpendicularly underneath the croſs, if it ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the road, which was ROISIA's own demeſnes.

I have obſerved the ſame poſition of a crucifix, in a chapel of a hermitage cut in a rock in *Derbyſhire*, though at the eaſt-end was an altar properly, cut in the ſame rock.

To this end of the oratory, lady ROISIA proſtrated herſelf, in the ordinary acts of devotion. I apprehend, ſhe commenced this way of life about that remarkable year 1170. when peace was made abroad, between the king then reigning *Henry* II. and *Thomas a Becket*. We may ſuppoſe this chapel and this crucifix to be cut about that time. The year after, *Becket* was murdered.

In explaining the reſt of the imagery, I ſhall do it in chronological order, having ſome foundation in the hiſtory of thoſe times for ſo doing.

A. D.

## A. D. MCLXXIII.

On the right-hand of the principal crucifix, is the
TAB. II. figure of S. *Laurence* the roman archdeacon, with the gridiron, the inſtrument of his paſſion, in his hand. He is in long garments beſuiting his office, marked with a croſs toward the bottom. He ſuffered martyrdom in the IXth. perſecution, in the reign of *Gallienus*, at *Rome*. It is celebrated by the church on auguſt the tenth.

Underneath him is the picture of a king, with a crown on, his hair dreſt in the faſhion of the times we are upon, the reign of *Henry* II. He lifts up both his hands, as in ſign of great fear and aſtoniſhment. Theſe two figures were cut, as I apprehend, in the year 1173. and regard a memorable action that happened on St. *Laurence*'s day, relating to our king *Henry* II. and *Lewis* the then king of *France*. The hiſtory is thus.

ROISIA's ſon *William de Magnavile*, earl of *Eſſex*, was now with the king in *Normandy*, one of his chief councellors and generals. He was the firſt among the *engliſh* nobles ſworn on the part of the king, to the marriage contract, betwixt his ſon *John* and the daughter of the earl of *Maurien*. *Herns Benedict abb. Petrob. p.* 43. this ſon *John*, by the inſtigation of the *french* king, rebelled againſt his father. The *french* king immediately came to his aid with all his power, to ravage the dominions of the king of *England* on the continent, in *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Brittany*. The caſtle

of

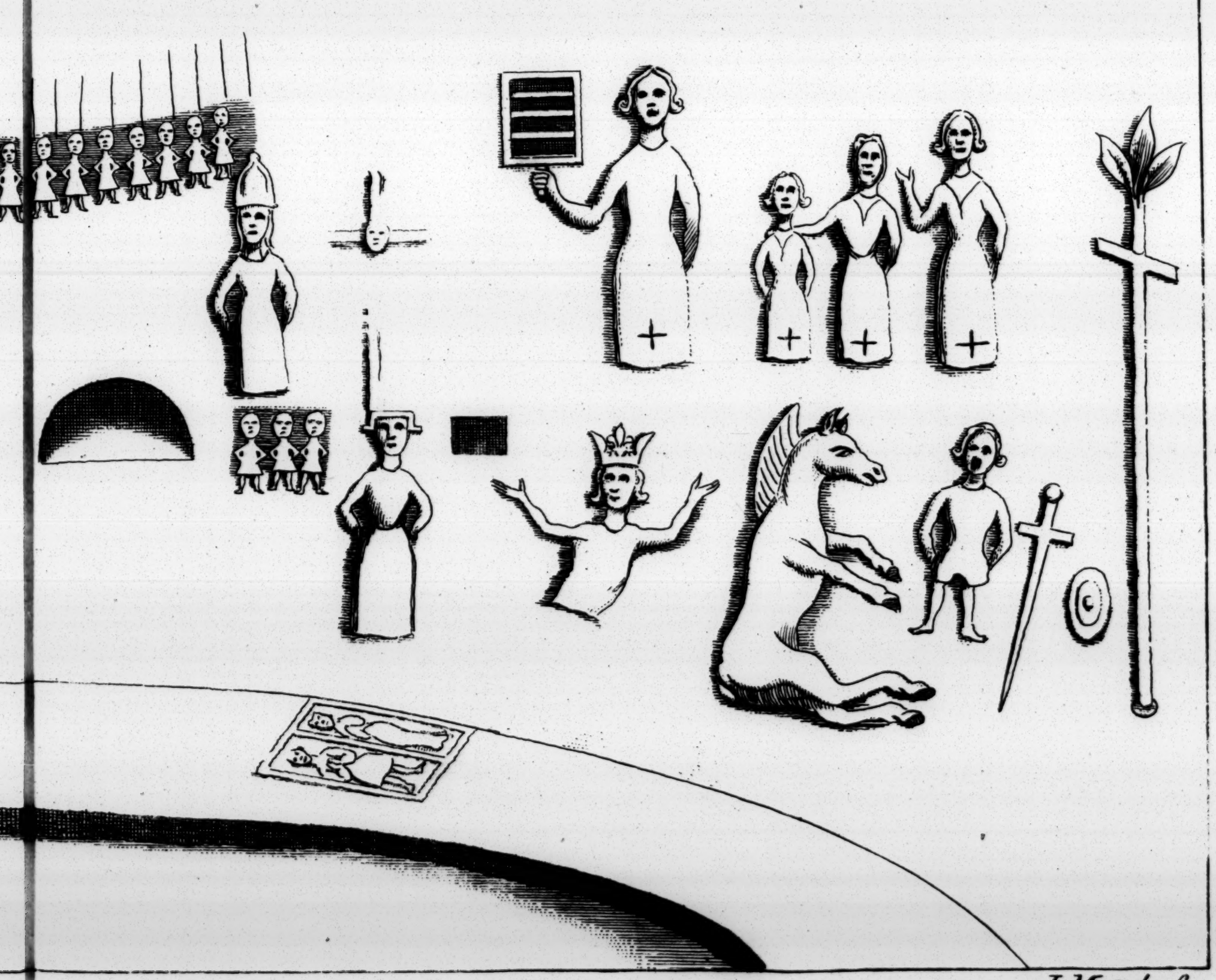
*The south side of Lady* **ROISIA'S** *O*



*W. Stukeley del.*

*ory at Royston. 19. Oct. 1742.*

TAB. II.
*page 28.*



*J. Mynde sc.*

B L

of *Albemarle* was firſt taken. Then the *french* king beſieged *Vernoul* with a vaſt army, and great *apparatus* of military engines and machines: where *Hugh de Lacy* and *Hugh de Beauchamp*, her brother-in-law or couſin were conſtables, who defended it with great conſtancy, for a whole month. The burghers then having ſpent all their proviſion, came to a three days truce with the *french* king; ſtipulating that they ſhould have liberty of going to the king of *England*, and requiring ſuccour; which if it was not afforded them on the third day, the feſtival of St. *Laurence*, they would give up the town. Upon this they gave hoſtages to the *french* king; and he ſwore to them ſolemnly, that if on that day they delivered up the town, he would reſtore the hoſtages.

The king of *England* muſtered his forces immediately; under him earl *William de Magnavile* ROISIA's ſon had a moſt eminent command. When they were in ſight of *Vernoul*, eager to revenge the cauſe of their monarch, the *french* king treacherouſly ſent an embaſſy to king *Henry*, deſiring to have a parly with him the next day, at a certain place, by nine o'clock: which was agreed upon. But in the morning, neither the *french* king, nor any from him came to the place appointed. This was on St. *Laurence*'s day. King *Henry* from thence beheld the town of *Vernoul* in flames. For the *french* king having thus deceived him, had the town delivered up to him by the burghers, according to the agreement. Nevertheleſs *Lewis* on his part, not regarding his oath, ſet fire to the town, carried

away the burghers, the cattle and hoſtages, and fled with great precipitation. He was forced to leave his tents, baggage, military engines and all his ſtores behind, fearing the vengeance of brave king *Henry*.

The king perceiving this, purſued him with the edge of the ſword, and made a very great ſlaughter among the *french*, and took an innumerable company of priſoners: and continued the war all that campaign, with very great effect. Thus *Benedict* the abbot of *Peterborough* writes. " Let it be had in memory, and " be it known, that this flight of the *french* king was " on *Thurſday* the 5th of the *ides* of *auguſt*, on the " *vigil* of St. *Laurence*, to the praiſe and glory of our " Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who by puniſhing the wickedneſs " of perjury, ſo ſoon revenged the injury offered to his " martyr." *Roger Hoveden*, who was *Henry*'s chaplain, has the ſame words, p. 306.

This flight of the perfidious *french* king is commemorated and carved by our lady ROISIA on the wall of her chapel. And doubtleſs on the anniverſary of this day ſhe performed here her religious offices, to thank the Almighty, for thus vindicating the honor of the king and preſerving her ſon. The figure of the king is *Lewis* VII. of *France*.

This event made a great noiſe all over *Europe*. *Polydore Virgil* ſeems to confound it, with king *Lewis*'s beſieging *Roan* the year following. For he writes, the *french* king uſed to keep St. *Laurence*'s day very religi-



ouſly.

ouſly. He ceaſed the ſiege and gave the inhabitants a formal truce. Nevertheleſs ſome of his men making a ſecret attack upon the town, were diſcovered by our men, who invoking St. *Laurence*, revenged the perfidy of *Lewis* with a great ſlaughter.

St. *Laurence*'s day is 10th *auguſt*. *Upminſter* church in *Eſſex*, where *Geffery de Magnavile* her firſt huſband had an eſtate, is dedicated to St. *Laurence*. In *Walſingham*'s *hypodigma Neuſtriæ*, p. 449. *edit. Francof.* a like inſtance of the notion of St. *James*'s puniſhing the perfidy of *Matthew* earl of *Boloign*, this ſame year 1173. This year likewiſe her ſon *William de Magnavile* took priſoner in battle *Ingeram de Trie*, a great man.

## A. D. MCLXXVI.

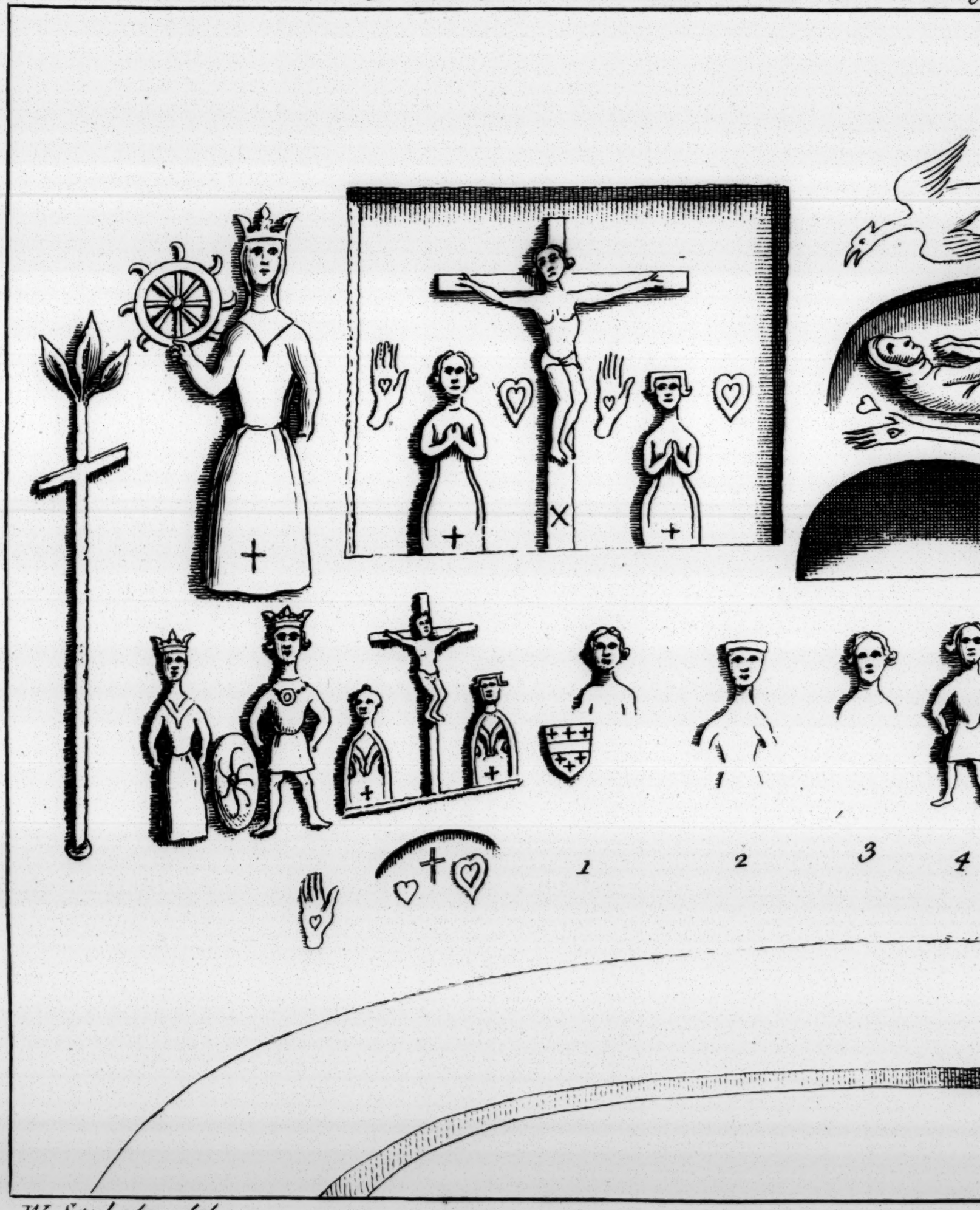
On the left-hand of St. *Laurence* and the *french* king, are three figures, of a man, a woman, and a child, all in long garments, and marked toward the bottom, with a croſs. The woman lays her arm upon the child's neck. I take them to be *Joſeph*, the virgin, and our Savior an infant. Underneath them is the figure of a horſe, a man, his ſword and ſhield, all as thrown down. This, no doubt, means the converſion of St. *Paul*. Our pious lady, as I apprehend, cut theſe figures, on account of a very remarkable circumſtance happening in the year 1176. which we find recited in *Benedict abbas*, p. 130.

In that year, king *Henry* II. and the king his ſon along with him, held their court at *Windſor* upon the *Chriſtmas* holy-days. And cardinal *Hugheſun* ſent from the court of *Rome*, was at the ſame time at *York* with the archbiſhop. Before the purification of the Virgin, and about the feaſt of the converſion of S. *Paul*, the king came to *Northampton*, and held a great parliament there of the hierarchy, the nobility and commons, and enacted the Aſſize of the realm, by their joint authority. *i. e.* they divided the realm of *England* into ſix circuits, and appointed three juſticiaries to each circuit, much in the manner that has been obſerved ever ſince, to this day, for the publick adminiſtration of juſtice. The whole affair may be ſeen in the above cited author; who adds, it was done at *Clarendon*, and after recorded at *Northampton*. It is a matter of conſequence which our lady ROISIA would be the more induced to take notice of, on account of her father having been lord chief juſtice of *England*.

At the ſame parliament, at *Northampton*, upon the ſummons of the king, *William* king of *Scotland* appeared, with the biſhops of *Scotland*, to acknowledge ſubjection to the church of *England*.

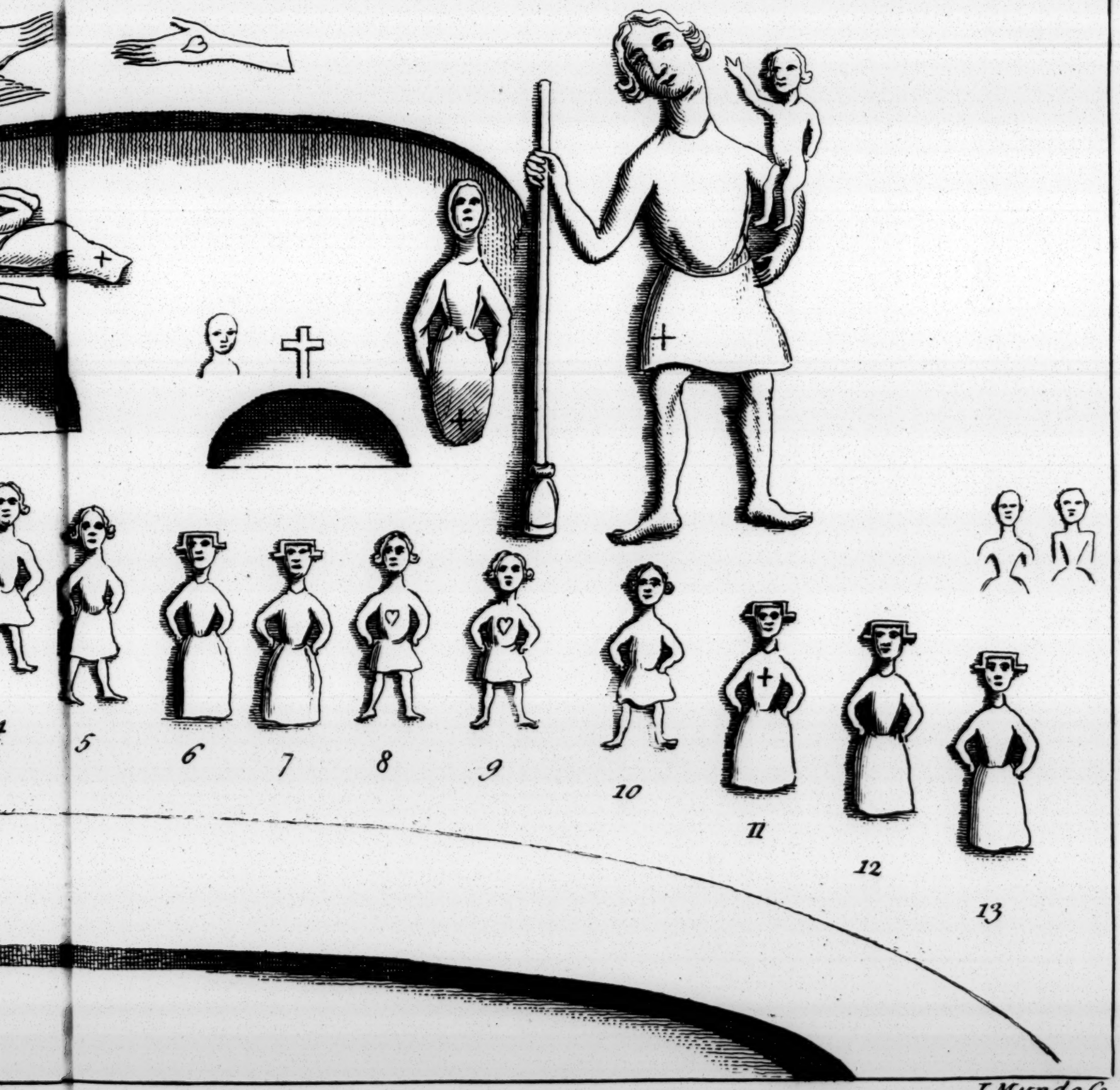
Theſe events, I take to be the occaſion of lady ROISIA cutting theſe figures on the wall of her chapel. There might be ſome particular incidents therein beſide, relating to her family, which we know not. This year 1176, was a year highly glorious to our

*The west side of Lady* **ROISIA'S** *Oratory at Roy*




*W. Stukeley del.*

Entrance



5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

J. Mynde sc.

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to our *engliſh* monarch. *Walſingham* tells us, here were in the court at once, ambaſſadors from *Alfonſus* king of *Caſtile*, *Sanctius* king of *Navarr*, *Emanuel* the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, *Frederick* the *Roman* emperor, *William* archbiſhop of *Rhemes*, *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, and of *Philip* earl of *Flanders*.

## A. D. MCLXXVII.

On the left of the laſt mentioned ſculptures, and toward the chief crucifix, which is, as it were, the high-altar of our chapel, is cut the figure of St. *Katharin* of *Alexandria*, with a wheel, the inſtrument of her paſſion, in her hand. She has a crown on her head, as being of the blood royal of *Egypt*. We are told, in the legends of her life, that this eminent virgin and martyr was impriſoned for twelve days, no perſon permitted to come near her, even to bring her any ſuſtenance: but that a dove miraculouſly adminiſtred to her, and brought her all neceſſaries. This is cut on the left ſide of the tablet of the crucifix. There is a cavity ſunk into the wall, which is to repreſent a priſon. In one end of it, the virgin ſits in a diſconſolate poſture. In the other end, ſhe is repreſented as lying, with a croſs marked on her garment. Underneath her, is a hand ſtretched out and a heart, meaning her zeal for religion, and the protection of providence, ſhown toward her. The like above; and the dove hovering over her, as mentioned in the legends. Underneath this priſon, are two nich-like cavities cut in the wall, which were made

TAB. III.

to ſet a lamp in, as we may well ſuppoſe, on her anniverſary november 25.

There is a very intereſting reaſon, why lady ROISIA cut theſe figures of St. *Katharin* here, which belongs to the year 1177. the ſtory is thus told, in *Benedict Abbas*, p. 160. *Philip* earl of *Flanders*, and *William de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* her ſon, took upon themſelves the croſſes of the *Jeruſalem* pilgrimage, in 1176. the year following, after *Eaſter*, they with many barons and knights went on the pilgrimage. When they came to *Jeruſalem*, aſſociating to themſelves the brethren of the temple and knights hoſpitallers, and *Raymond* prince of *Antioch*, and in a manner the whole *militia* of the holy-land; they beſieged a certain caſtle belonging to the *Pagans*, which was called *Harangh*. When this was told to *Saladin* the Sultan of *Babylon*, he gathering together the kings, princes under him, and more than 500,000 horſe and foot, entred upon the territory of the chriſtians: and fixed his tents, not far from the holy city of *Jeruſalem*. The knights templars and hoſpitallers and ſoldiery of the king of *Jeruſalem*, who ſtaid there to guard the city, advanced againſt the *Pagans*, the biſhop of *Bethlehem* carrying the holy croſs before them. The chriſtians were not above 20,000 fighting men, yet by the power of the Almighty, they obtained the victory. This happened 1177. in the plains of *Ramah*, on the day of St. *Katharin*, virgin and martyr, 25. november.

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The ſaid *Benedict abbot* writes, p. 203. that the king ſent 1000 marks of ſilver by the earl of *Eſſex*, ROISIA's ſon, for the ſupport of the *holy-land*. This year, our author *Benedict* was made abbot of *Peterborough*.

## A. D. MCLXXXV.

On the left-hand of the laſt mentioned figures of St. *Katharin* in priſon, is St. *Chriſtopher*, almoſt under the deſcent. As uſual, he is repreſented with our Saviour an infant, on his ſhoulder, and a great ſtaff in his hand. He is reported in the legends of his life, to be of a huge bulk of body, and ſtrength, and here carved larger than the other figures. The croſs is cut on the loweſt part of his garment, which is but ſhort. It is ſaid, in the hiſtory of his life, that conſidering his great ſtature and ſtrength, and how he might beſt ſerve God, and be uſeful to mankind: he built himſelf a cell by a river ſide, where was neither bridge nor boat: and there employed himſelf, in carrying over all paſſengers. Further, this ſaint was thought to have a ſpecial privilege, in preventing tempeſts and earthquakes. For which reaſon we ſee him ſo often painted in churches of old. So in *Canewdon* church *Eſſex:* taken notice of in *Salmon*'s *Eſſex*, p. 387. here the *Veres* had an eſtate. T A B. III.

Whether or no lady ROISIA paid this regard to St. *Chriſtopher* on account of his manner of life, ſomewhat reſembling that ſhe had devoted herſelf to; we

cannot affirm: but the main reaſon why ſhe formed his picture here, I aſcribe to that event which our hiſtorian's recite in the year 1185. for then happened a moſt terrible and remarkable earthquake in all *England*, in the month of march: ſuch a one, as never was known before. Many houſes thrown down, even ſuch as were built of ſtone: a thing not very common, then. *Lincoln* cathedral ſplit from top to bottom. The firſt of may following, an eclipſe of the ſun, ſoon after, great thundering, lightning and tempeſts: many men and cattle deſtroyed, many houſes burnt. *Benedict abbot*, p. 436. *Annals Dunſtable*, &c.

Sir *Joſeph Ayloffe* baronet was pleaſed to give me an extract of an old record, in the court of Liveries, 32 *Henry* III. m. 7. to this effect, in engliſh.

The king to the ſheriff of *Hamſhire*, greeting. We command you, that out of the rents iſſuing from your county, you cauſe to be painted in the queen's chapel at *Wincheſter*, upon the gable toward the weſt, the image of St *Chriſtofer*: who holds in his arm, as uſual, our bleſſed Saviour. And the coſt which you lay out on this work, ſhall be accounted for in our exchequer. Witneſs the king at *Windleſor*, 7 day of may.

I have obſerved a like picture of St. *Chriſtopher* in a huge proportion, painted on the wall in *Weſtminſter-abby*, between the monuments of *Shakeſpear* and *Gay*; probably done at the ſame time as the aforementioned: as a preſervative againſt earthquakes and tempeſts.

St.

St. *Chriſtopher* was a *Canaanite* or *Syrian* by birth. The knowledge of him was brought from the holy-land, in theſe days we are writing on: and ROISIA's family had ſome particular regard for him. In the manor of *Willingale d'ou* in *Eſſex*, of the honor of *Magnavile*, the church is dedicate to St. *Chriſtopher*. The arms of *Vere* are painted in the windows.

St. *Chriſtopher* went into *Lycia* in *Aſia minor*, to preach the goſpel. Once on a time, before a great aſſembly of people there, he ſtuck his ſtaff into the ground. It took root immediately, produced leaves, flowers and fruit, in token of the truth of his doctrine: which much furthered their converſion. On the right-hand of the afore-mentioned figure of St. *Katharin*, in our oratory, we ſee this croſs-like ſtaff of St. *Chriſtopher*'s, cut by lady ROISIA, thus amuſing herſelf on his anniverſary 25 july: when reading the legends of his life. We ſee it likewiſe, in TAB. II. to ſhew the continuity of the ſculptures. Above St. *Chriſtopher* in TAB. III. is the aperture of the deſcent into our catacomb; but larger and higher than in our plate. It was originally about four foot high. TAB. III.

## A. D. MCLXXXVII.

Let us turn our eyes to the ſouth-ſide of ROISIA's oratory, which I have drawn in TAB. II. There we have a large piece of hiſtory, which I apprehend, was cut by her, in the year 1187. Our king *Henry* ſtands in compleat armor, his ſhield laid by him, he holds his TAB. II.

ſword upright in his right-hand. Before him ſtand two perſons in long, religious robes. The one has a miter on, *a pallium* and an archiepiſcopal croſier in his hand: the other figure has been ſomewhat injured, but he holds a great crucifix in his hand. There are two other figures ſtanding by, in long robes: one has a nobleman's coronet on. Above the king are two armies, an interval between them.

This piece of hiſtory, I take to be thus explained in *Benedict abbot*, p. 464. In the year 1187. the 33 of *Henry* II. the king celebrated the feſtival of *Chriſtmas*, with great ſolemnity at *Bedford*. No doubt, at *Bedford-caſtle*, which was in lady ROISIA's neighborhood, and belonging to her ſon *Simon de Beauchamp*. Probably, ſhe herſelf was there preſent. The hiſtorian takes notice of the many noble perſonages then with the king; his ſon *John*, the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *David* earl of *Huntingdon*, brother to the king of *Scots*, and many more. *There* the earls of *Leiceſter* and *Arundel*, and *Roger Bigot*, ſerved at the king's table, in their reſpective ſervices, as at a king's coronation.

At this time, the king had notice, that at *Dover* were juſt arrived from pope *Urban*, *Octavian* cardinal archdeacon, a legate *de latere*, and *Hugh de Nunant*, clerk, domeſtic chaplain to the king, whom he had ſent to *Rome*, deſiring his Holineſs to ſend over a cardinal, to crown his ſon *John* king of *Ireland*. The king went directly to *London* to meet them. They by the authority of the pope took great ſtate upon themſelves, made

a grand entry into *Weſtminſter-Abby*, on the day of the circumciſion, had a miter on, and croſſes carried before them, wherever they went, and wore red garments.

The king carried them over with him directly, by the advice of his council, to *Normandy*, to make peace between him and the *french* king He went to *Albemarle*, where ROISIA's ſon *William de Magnavile*, earl of *Albemarle*, met him, and very many of the hierarchy, nobility, knights, both of the continent and of *England*. Juſt before the feſtival of the annunciation, the two monarchs of *England* and *France* met. *William de Magnavile* was then a great commander in the king's army. At firſt, through the intolerable demands of the *french* king, they could not agree, but prepared to fight, and brought their armies into the field. At length, the legates and the other archbiſhops, biſhops and nobility of both nations interpoſing, a peace was concluded between them.

This I take to be the meaning of the picture before us, nor do I think it to be very ill deſigned. The mitred perſon is the cardinal *Octavian*, the other carrying the crucifix is *Hugh de Nunant*. Aſſuredly theſe are evident confirmations of the hiſtories of theſe times, as recorded in our authors.

*William Lilly*, who lives in the houſe juſt over the oratory, and was very aſſiſtant in drawing out the earth, ſays theſe two figures at firſt appeared painted over of a red color, and I myſelf ſaw the remains of it.

it. There are two little niches or cavities cut in the wall, to put lamps in, and another at bottom, under the cardinal.

TAB. II. To the right of St. *Laurence* and the *french* king, is a defaced figure ſeeming to have been a crucifix: underneath it a female figure perfect. I take this to have been a repreſentation of the croſs above ground. Perhaps the female figure underneath it, is lady ROISIA. Juſt underneath this, upon the circular bench or *podium* incompaſſing the floor of the crypt, is a little picture cut in the chalk, as it were, two ſepulchral-ſtones, with figures cut on them, as lying on the floors of chapels. This perhaps our pious lady cut, as a memorandum of the monument of her father and mother: which afforded matter for her contemplation, on the days of their *obit*.

TAB. III. What remains for our conſideration, is the lower tablet of the crucifix, under the chief crucifix of our oratory. On the right of which, under St. *Katharine*, is the image of a king and a queen: on the left, a great number of figures male and female, extending themſelves all along the north-ſide of the oratory, under St. *Chriſtopher*, quite to the bed or grave, in the eaſt part thereof, which I have marked with numerals underneath.

There can be no manner of doubt, that the king and queen preſents us with the effigies of *Henry* II. and his queen *Eleanor*. Theſe figures ſeem to be cut with ſomewhat more delicacy than the reſt. The queen's dreſs over her neck, is more nicely deſigned: and the king

king has manifeſtly a great collar round his neck, with a great jewel hanging before, upon his breaſt. He leans his right-hand upon a ſhield, indicating his warlike diſpoſition. Theſe royal pictures ſhe made, as well on account of the perſonal qualities of that prince, of great wiſdom, juſtice, piety; magnificent, valorous: as that he and his mother the empreſs *Maud*, and grandfather *Henry* I. and great grandfather the conqueror, had been patrons and benefactors to her fathers, and to both her huſbands families. Likewiſe her ſon *Magnavile* and couſin *Hugh de Beauchamp* were all this time employed in his wars.

The leſſer crucifix means an altar. The figures of St. *John* and the Virgin, as before. Underneath a croſs. A hand with a heart upon it, a ſingle heart and a double heart. All this ſeems to mean the humor at this time prevailing, of taking the croſs (as they termed it) that is, vowing an expedition into the holy-land. The king had reſolved upon it ſeveral times, but was hindered by his wars on the continent, and the rebellion of his ſons, inſtigated by the *french* king.

1. Next to this leſſer crucifix is manifeſtly a ſhield, or coat armorial. The feſs upon it is very plain, high raiſed, and the other marks or ſketches ſo like to croſs croſlets, that we cannot help ſuppoſing it to mean the arms of the *Beauchamps*: *gules* a feſs between ſix croſs croſlets, *or*. It was at this very time of day, that taking up coats of arms began, and the croſſes particularly had reſpect to thoſe *Jeruſalem* peregrinations. There may be

ſome ſpecial hiſtory in lady ROISIA's mind, when ſhe cut theſe figures, which we cannot poſſibly recount: but it ſeems, that ſhe means by this figure bearing this ſhield, *Hugh de Beauchamp* aforementioned, the father of her huſband *Payn de Beauchamp*. The figure is imperfect, having been injured by ſome accident, but the head remains. He was progenitor of a moſt numerous race, of our engliſh nobility. He had a vaſt eſtate given him by the conqueror for his ſervices, as appears in *Domeſday-book*. He was poſſeſſed of *Belingoo* in *Hertfordſhire*, *Lincelade*, *Soleberry*, and *Lateberry* in *Bucks*, and of forty three lordſhips in *Bedfordſhire*. This I have marked in the plate numb. 1.

2. Is an imperfect figure, the chalk having been rubbed away. The head plain, with a helmet on. It is not unlikely, this ſhould mean *William de Magnavile* father of her firſt huſband, whoſe lady was *Margaret*, daughter and heireſs of the great *Eudo Dapifer*.

3. Is an imperfect figure, and in my notion, means lady ROISIA's eldeſt ſon *Arnulph de Magnavile*, whom king *Stephen* deprived of all his father's honors and eſtates, and baniſhed the land.

4. All the ſucceeding figures are perfect and compleat. This means *Geffery de Magnavile*, ROISIA's ſecond ſon, the ſecond earl of *Eſſex*, reſtored by king *Hen.* II.

5. Means her third ſon *William de Magnavile* the great warrior, the third earl of *Eſſex* and earl of *Albemarle*.

6. It

6. Is a female figure, and if the foregoing poſitions be right, this exhibits his wife, *Hawiſia le Gros*, daughter and heireſs of the houſe of *Albemarle*.

7. Another female figure. This I ſuppoſe to be lady ROISIA's ſiſter-in-law *Beatrix Magnavile*, who married *William de Say*.

8. The two next figures are men, and diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by hearts cut on their breaſts. It is natural to judge from hence, that they mean ROISIA's two huſbands, this being Sir *Geffery de Magnavile*, the firſt earl of *Eſſex*, her firſt huſband.

9. *Paganus de Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*, ſecond huſband to lady ROISIA de Vere.

10. *Simon de Beauchamp* baron of *Bedford*, ſon to *Payn de Beauchamp* and lady ROISIA.

11. Lady ROISIA's daughter married to *Mowbray*. She is diſtinguiſhed from the others, by a croſs on her breaſt, which may be ſome family jewel; or may import a more than ordinary religious diſpoſition of mind.

12. Lady ROISIA's daughter married to *Wake*.

13. Lady ROISIA's daughter married to *Fitzothes*.

This explication of theſe figures, being the family pictures

pictures of our lady ROISIA ſeems eaſy and natural enough. They were placed here in her oratory, as objects of her prayers, and more retired devotion, on the particular days relating to their life or death: and as the reſt, adminiſtred occaſion to her contemplation and prayers. The like of thoſe other days already mentioned in this diſcourſe.

For here in my opinion, debaſing herſelf from the honors of her illuſtrious houſe, and the ſumptuous way of living ſhe had been accuſtomed to, ſhe often changed worldly ſplendor for an humble cell, and this gloomy cave.

I cannot but think ſhe deſigned it at leaſt for her burial place. *Leland* ſays, ſhe was buried in the chapter-houſe of her nunnery of *Chikeſand*. Perhaps ſuch was the will of her friends and relations. And the religious of that houſe would not fail, uſing their endeavor to procure that honor to their chapel. There was at this time of day, more than ordinary ſtrife in the monaſteries, to obtain the bodies of founders and perſons of quality, which they thought a great ſecurity to their houſes: and often was the occaſion of procuring them intereſt and great benefactions. A remarkable inſtance of this nature may be ſeen in this lady's family, at the death of her ſon *Geffery*. As may be read in *Dugdale*'s *baron*. pa. 204. and hence it is, as I apprehend, we often meet with ſuch diſſonant accounts of the interment of the great perſons about this time. We obſerved this of *Simon de Beauchamp* ſon to

lady ROISIA pa. 22. ſo of her anceſtor *Roſia*, wife to *Eudo Dapifer*; ſaid in *Monaſt. Angl.* tom. I. to have been buried in the monaſtery at *Colcheſter*, but in tom. II. p. 892. which gives a more particular account of her, ſhe is ſaid to have been buried at the abby of *Bec* in *Normandy*. Which by the circumſtances there related, ſeems to be trueſt; as Mr. *Roger Gale* obſerves in a letter to me, on this ſubject.

From all circumſtances conſidered, it appears to me, that we may well aſſign the time when lady ROISIA entered on this aſcetic life, to about 1170. and when ſhe cauſed this catacomb to be made. What year ſhe died in, we find not: but conclude the monaſtery was built immediately after her death, and on account of her living here. I apprehend, her death and the founding of the monaſtery muſt fall about the time of king *Henry*'s death, which was in 1189. It was a compliment to the king, to dedicate the monaſtery to *Thomas a Becket*, as the king himſelf had done by *Waltham-abby*, according to a vow he made. *Benedict abb.* p. 16. The day the king made his firſt pilgrimage to his ſepulcher, his generals beat the *Scots*, and took their king *William* priſoner, and kept him in *Richmond-caſtle:* which king *Henry* attributed to his thus honoring the martyr: in 1172. in the firſt year of *Richard* I. ſon and ſucceſſor to *Henry* II. a fair was granted to the canons of the monaſtery of *Royſton*. Whence we may conclude, it was founded, at leaſt, in the end of king *Henry*'s reign: and either in lady ROISIA's life time, or exceeding near it. However that be, I believe the bones they

took up, belonged to that lady, who was buried here in the time we are writing of. They that emptied this place of the earth, all agree that it was filled with pure garden mold, quite above the ſculptures, and *there* the body was found, not much lower than the opening of the deſcent into the place. So that all this was done with deſign; and before any houſes were built near the place: this garden mold being the turf ſhaved off the ſurface of the chalky-down, around the croſs. The upper part was filled with rubbiſh, and might be done a good while after: when the memorial of the place was well nigh forgot.

As to that bed or grave on the eaſt-ſide of the oratory, there was brickwork found there; of a very fine red ſort: brought from ſome diſtance. People took away pieces of it, as a curioſity. Whether it was an altar-table, or ſepulcher, I cannot affirm, and there is little ſatisfaction in multiplying conjectures without a tolerable foundation. I relate the whole affair as it appeared to me, and leave the reader to form his own judgment concerning it.

To ſum up the evidence. Our lady ROISIA built the croſs here, upon her own eſtate. From her being concerned in founding many religious houſes, we may conclude her to be of a ſerious and pious diſpoſition. Her grandfather *Vere*, her brother-in-law *Nigel de Albany*, both devoted themſelves to a religious retirement: her own brother was a canon of St. *Oſiths*, her ſiſter-in-law *Lucia de Cantelupe* became a prioreſs

to

to the nunnery at *Ikleton*. Theſe inſtances in her own family might diſpoſe her to follow their examples, but in a better manner. In the end of 1167. ſhe lived with her ſiſter *Eſſex*, among her nuns at *Chikeſand*. Her ſecond huſband *Payn Beauchamp* at that time was dead. So that it is likely about that time ſhe retreated to her manor-houſe of *Newſels*, and delighted herſelf in walking over the beautiful turf of this chalk-country, and erected the croſs at *Royſton*. By degrees ſhe cauſed a cell or little houſe to be built there, and the catacomb to be dug, in the pure chalk. It appears plainly that the figures cut there, relate to the hiſtory of that time, and to her family in particular. And likewiſe that ſhe frequented the place for twenty years. So that it is very natural to conceive ſhe took ſo great a liking to it, as very often to go thither on particular days, for her meditation, and devotion. And then formed the reſolution of being buried there: in a place ſhe had ſo long conſecrated, by acts of religion. The grave dug there was deſigned for that purpoſe. But at the time of her death, a contention probably aroſe, between her nuns of *Chikeſand* and her executors, for the body: as then was often the caſe. So ſhe was buried ſomewhat tumultuouſly, and ſecretly, in her chapel here, by her moſt intimate friends: according to her own requeſt. This is my opinion of the matter, and beſt ſolves all the appearances concerning it. But I think from what has been ſaid, we may draw ſome reflections as follow.

1. We obſerve the ſpirit among theſe great families, about this time, of founding religious houſes: diveſting them-

themſelves of large eſtates for that purpoſe. There was certainly a good intention; and ſome good purpoſes at firſt anſwered thereby: but at length defeated and perverted. Still though theſe places are now demoliſhed, we find their good works have followed them. The memories and families of theſe great perſonages, who founded theſe houſes, and thereby contributed to the propagation of religion, are by that means preſerved, through ſo many ages; and beyond that of many, to whom the eſtates were given, at the diſſolution.

2. We may reflect on the humor very prevalent, about this time, as it had been, ever ſince chriſtianity, of religious retirement. Some delicate genius's very early in life, found out the inſignificancy of worldly buſtle and ſplendor: others later. Some put their deſigns in execution, by founding or entring into religious houſes: ſome by a retreat to grotto's and hermitages: where they might ſtill more ſecurely taſte the ſweets of religious contemplation. Some made this kind of retirement more uſeful to the publick, by fixing their ſtation at theſe croſſes in uninhabited places: where they might direct paſſengers in their ſeveral roads, aſſiſt them in their prayers, occaſionally ſuggeſt good thoughts to them, and pray for them. And hither lady ROISIA walked o're the agreeable chalk-down from *Nuſels* manor, at leaſt occaſionally, and on the particular days above-mentioned, for ſuch purpoſes: where theſe two great roads met.

3. We

3. We may obſerve a national character, inherent and permanent through all ages. From innumerable inſtances in the hiſtory of theſe times, more than I had occaſion to recite, we ſee the faithleſs, inconſtant, and perfidious diſpoſition of the *french*, and their behaviour toward us. We ſee then, as now, the genius of the *engliſh*, brave, generous, honeſt, and true. We may learn hence, never to truſt the *bonne foy* of that nation, but expect they will be ſtill the ſame, as from the beginning.

4. We obſerve the conſequences of religion, in regard to the publick. We may well move a queſtion, how a woman of lady ROISIA's quality, having probably things of value about her, could live here, or frequent this place with ſafety, in an open and uninhabited country? I anſwer, it is owing to the influence of religion, to good government and the peace of the world. Religion, at that time, we find, was highly countenanced by thoſe of higheſt rank and fortune. The nobility were the lights of it: both in publick devotion, and private example. The hiſtory of theſe times ſufficiently ſhew it, and the ſubject of this diſcourſe.

The main of religion, neceſſary to keep the world in order, is plain and ſimple, needs no lofty ſpeculations. In true religion are but very few myſteries or ſacraments, as properly called. And thoſe abſolutely neceſſary, to make us taſte the joys of religion here, or be

capable of reliſhing thoſe ſuperior ones hereafter. But religion muſt be encouraged by the upper claſs of mankind; whoſe example is readily followed, by all their ſubordinates. And eſpecially they muſt be careful in the obſervance of the ſabbath, which is the only ſource of the practice of religion.

Some will pronounce all this is to be had from due adminiſtration of the laws. I acknowledge the fear of puniſhment does ſomewhat, but not all. The iron hands of juſtice can reach but few: but the influence of religion, which all wiſe governments encourage, and conducted in the manner we require, is univerſal, and reaches the heart; cutting off the tendencies and firſt motions toward evil. To this it muſt be owing, that we read of theſe times in many authors; "now a days, a maid might have paſſed throughout "the whole realm, with a bag full of gold: and not "have met any, that would offer to have taken it "from her."

5. If what we have advanced in this diſcourſe, be near the truth: it is a leſſon for us to ſet a proper value only, on rank and quality; on the ſplendors and gaudy appearances of life. Our religious lady ſeems judiciouſly to have mixt publick and retired life. I ſuppoſe, ſhe frequented this place, but at certain times; reſiding chiefly at her ſeat of *Newſels*. She conſidered, that life was a ſtewardſhip; and that though the buſineſs of a ſteward be of a publick nature: yet he muſt have his times of tranquillity, and retirement; that his mind may

may be perfectly ſerene, to conſider well, and to draw up his accounts very fairly, againſt the great day of his maſter's audit.

Lady ROISIA's piety at this place, did not end with her life, but immediately after, her ſucceſſors in *Newſel*'s manor, Sir *Euſtace de Merk*, Knight, and *Rafe de Rouceſter*, founded the priory, cloſe to her cell, and croſs. It had canons regular, and was dedicate to *Thomas a Becket*, as then was the faſhion. For king *Henry* II. very much encouraged it. He changed the old foundation of *Waltham-abby* for canons regular, and re-dedicated it to *Thomas a Becket*, as we hinted before. He paid great devotion to his tomb, as may be read very often in *Benedict abbot* above quoted.

This monaſtery at *Royſton* received good additions to the firſt endowment, and flouriſhed. At the diſſolution it was valued at *l.* 89.16.00 *per annum*. *Weaver*'s *Monuments*. *Monaſt. Angl.* Vol. I. p. 1041. The whole precincts of it ſtill remain, and ſome of the old building; a noble kitchen of brickwork.

Immediately upon erecting this priory, the town aroſe, and was called *Roiſes-croſs*. The celebrity of this croſs became very great, owing to the regard paid to ſo great a lady as ROISIA, and to ſo remarkable an inſtance of her piety. So that when the priory was founded, it was called the priory of the croſs of ROHESIA. *Chauncy*'s *Hertf. p.* 99. and a jury in 6 *Edw.* I. found, that it was ſituate in the fee of the manor of *Newſels*.

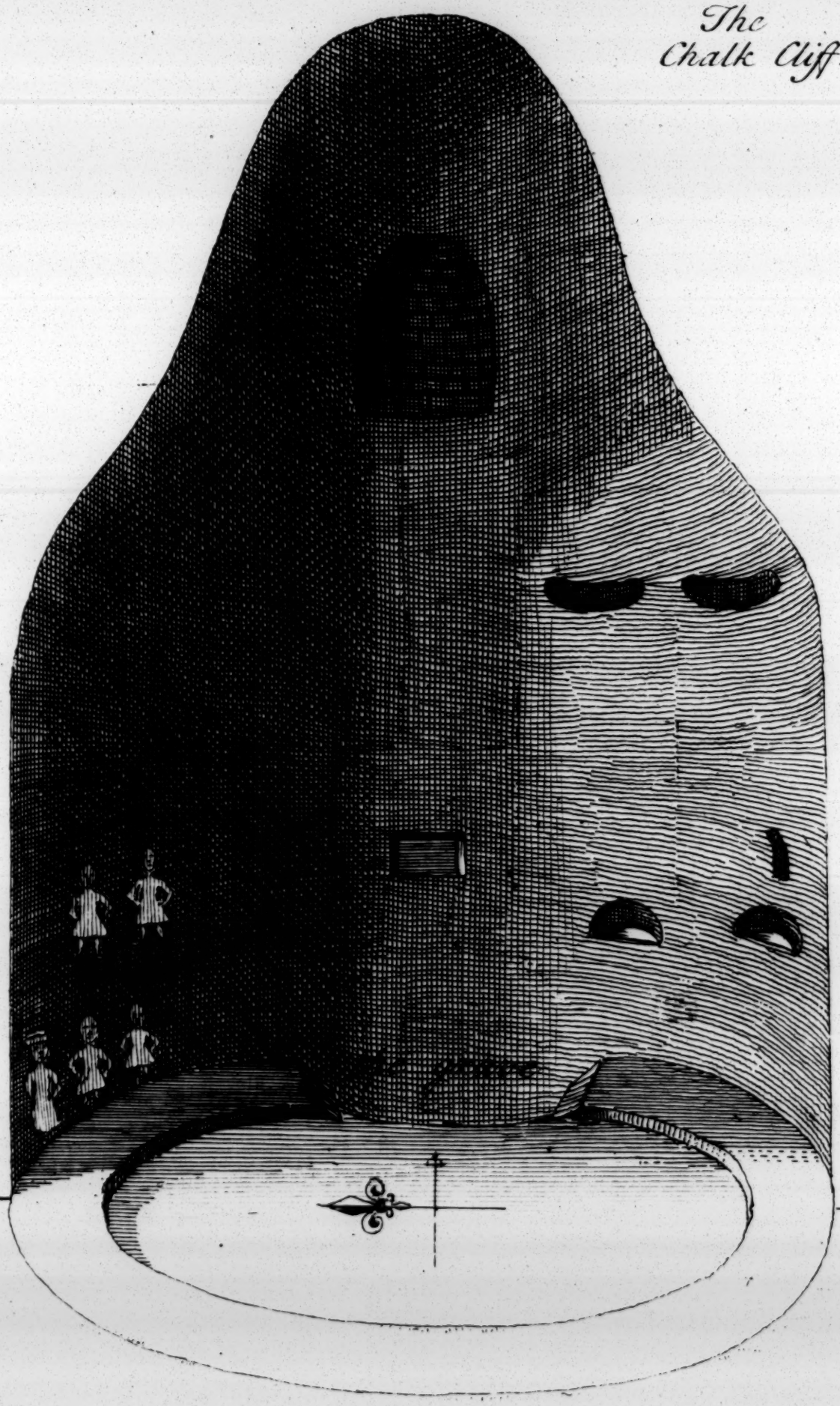
And in 4 *Edw.* II. *Gilbert de Clare*, earl of *Glocester* and *Hertford*, with *Joanna* his wife, held a three weeks court, at *Roiſes-croſs*, *Chauncy*, p. 90.

There was likewiſe an hoſpital dedicate to St. *John*, and St. *James* the apoſtles. For the moſt part, it remains, ſituate on the ſouth-ſide of the *Ikning-ſtreet*, a little weſtward of the croſs. It was a long building. upon arches, like *Pythagoras*'s ſchool at *Cambridge*. Above was the chapel. Beneath, the cells of the poor people there maintained. There were kitchen and lodgings for the warden. The new houſe on the eaſt end of it, was part of the ſame building. But to enlarge upon theſe matters, is beyond my purpoſe. They are the conſequents of the ſpirit of religion, which ROISIA excited in the place.

*F I N I S.*

*A Section of the Oratory at Royston.*

TAB. I.



2.

AN

# ANSWER

TO, OR

# REMARKS

UPON

# DR. *STUKELEY'S*,

## ORIGINES ROYSTONIANÆ;

WHEREIN,

The Antiquity and Imagery of the ORATORY, lately discovered at *Royston* in *Hertfordshire*, are truly Stated, and Accounted for.

---

By *CHARLES PARKIN*, A. M.
Rector of *Oxburgh* in *Norfolk*.

---

*Credite Pisones, isti Tabulæ fore librum*
*Persimilem, cujus velut Ægri Somnia, Vanæ*
*Fingentur species; ut nec Pes, nec Caput, uni*
*Reddatur formæ.*------- Horat. de Arte Poet.

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*LONDON:*

Printed for the AUTHOR, by J. HOYLES at N° I. in *Wild-Court*, near *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields:* And Sold by W. LEWIS, in *Russel-Street*, *Covent-Garden*; and T. TRYE, near *Grays-Inn-Gate*, *Holborn*. MDCCXLIV.

A

To the Right Honourable

# *EDWARD* Lord Viſcount *COKE*,

SON and HEIR Apparent,

To the EARL of *LEICESTER*.

*My* LORD,

IF your Lordſhip's Hereditary Candour and Courteſy were not well known and experienced; it would argue more than Rudeneſs in me, to addreſs You, on ſuch a Subject, and in ſuch a Manner.

To take off your Lordſhip from that great Concern, that You daily manifeſt for

the Publick Good, the weightier Matters of the State; which engage ſo great a part of your time: To deprive You of the Contemplation of thoſe Noble Arts, which You are Maſter of; Arts improved, and refined by Travel: To ſet in your View ſo mean an Object, as an old Oratory, lately diſcovered, and buried up above two Centuries in Dirt and Rubbiſh; inſtead of the Stately Edifices of Antient and Modern *Rome*, St. *Peter*'s, the *Pantheon*, or *Rotunda*: To expoſe the rude Figures of an Hermitage before You, who are well acquainted with the finiſhed ones of *Phidias* and *Praxiteles* amongſt the Antients; *Angelo* and *Bandinello*, amongſt the Moderns; muſt argue a ſtrange want of Taſte in Me, and make even your Lordſhip to look upon me as a true *Barbarian.*

But, my Lord, it was this diſtinguiſhing Merit in You, that prompted me to entreat your

your Patronage, as it qualifies You both for a proper Judge and Patron: Such a Judge and Patron, as an Author muſt eſteem himſelf truly happy in.

This muſt be granted; as You have ſo accurately ſurveyed the bold *Baſſo Relievo*'s, the Breathing Statues of the Principal Saints, the Marvellous Hiſtorical Pieces and Ornaments required to be, and to be obſerved in Churches abroad. ---- Ornaments and *Relievo*'s to be found alſo in our Oratory, tho' in a very mean and low Life.

As You are thus conſpicuous for Arts acquired, Arts that render Mankind truly Great and Honourable; ſo give me leave to add what Honours You are born to, and what Providence itſelf has awarded to You.

On

# DEDICATION.

On your Noble Father's Side, the Great Earldom of LEICESTER; whoſe Coronet has adorned the Temples of the Illuſtrious Families of BEAUMONT, DUDLEY, SIDNEY, and I was going to ſay, the Temples of Majeſty itſelf, even of the * Kings of ENGLAND.

On your Noble Mother's Side, the Great and Antient Barony of CLIFFORD, brought down to You by Deſcent, from a Numerous Race of *Engliſh* Worthies, recorded in all our Hiſtories.

Theſe are the Merits, theſe are the Honours, that moved one of the largeſt, richeſt, and moſt populous Counties of our Nation, to chooſe your Lordſhip for their Repreſen-

* *John* of *Gaunt*, Son of King *Edward* the Third was Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*, which Honour deſcended to his Son King *Henry* IV.

tative

tative in Parliament; which great Truſt You have ſo well anſwer'd, that I am certain every one, who wiſhes well to his Country's Good and Proſperity, will join with me in praying, that your Lordſhip may enjoy as many Years, as your great and worthy Anceſtor Sir *Edward Coke*; that You may live and die like him, the Neſtor and the Oracle of your Country. Which is the ſincere, the ardent Wiſh and Prayer of,

*My* LORD,

*Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient*

*humble Servant,*

CHARLES PARKIN.

# THE INTRODUCTION.

THE Oratory lately diſcovered at *Royſton* in *Hertfordſhire*, in *Auguſt* 1742, is a ſubterraneous Crypt, cut out of a ſolid Rock of pure Chalk; from the Floor or Area of it to the Summit, or the level Ground where the Deſcent begins (which is for the moſt part by a long Ladder) it is about thirty Foot, and the Diameter is about twenty Foot. 'Tis formed in the manner of a Dome or Cupola, and well turned, and is ſo lofty that the light of the Candles ſcarce reaches the Summit or Top of it; all around the Sides, it is ornamented with Figures, Imagery in *Baſſo Relievo*, of Crucifixes, or Altars, Saints, Martyrs, *&c.* in a rude manner, agreeable to the Art and Judgment of the Perſon, who performed it, who was moſt likely ſome Hermit, and to the taſte of the Age wherein he lived.

A Plate of the Section of this Oratory or Crypt, which was the Chapel of an *Hermitage*, is here to be ſeen in *Table* I. which Plate being ſuppoſed to be made on the *Meridian* Line, repreſents the *Eaſtern* Part, or one half of the ſaid Crypt. Its Situation together with a Cell, and a Croſs adjoyning is on that Spot

of Ground or Angle, where the two old *Roman* Military Ways, *Herman-Street*, and *Icenild-Way* met and croſſed each other. Dr. *Stukeley* (*a*) ſeems poſitive that here was originally a *Roman* Town which was quite demoliſhed by the *Scots* or *Picts* in their Invaſions, or when our *Saxon* Anceſtors ravaged the Country in order to ſubdue it, or after them the *Danes*.

*Camden* in his *Britannia* acquaints us, that upon the very edge of the County of *Hertford*, to the *North*, where it toucheth upon *Cambridgeſhire*, ſtandeth *Royſton*, a Town of much Note, but not Antient, as having riſen ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, for in thoſe Days there was a famous Lady named *Roiſia* (by ſome ſuppoſed to have been Counteſs of *Norfolk*) who erected a Croſs upon the Road-ſide in this Place, from thence for many Years called *Royſes-Croſs* 'till ſuch time as *Euſtace de Marc* founded juſt by it, a ſmall Monaſtery to the Honour of St. *Thomas*. Upon this Occaſion Inns came to be built, and by Degrees it came to be a Town, which inſtead of *Royſes-Croſs* took the Name of *Royſes-Town* contracted into *Royſton*.

Here *Camden* aſcribes the Foundation of the Croſs at *Royſton* to have been about the *Norman* Conqueſt; our Antiquary deſcends a Century lower, and maintains that Lady *Roiſia*, who flouriſhed in the Reign of King (*b*) *Henry* II, was the Foundreſs of it about the Year 1170, that Lady *Roiſia*, who was the
+ Daughter of *Alberic de Vere*, the ſecond Lord High

(*a*) *Orig. Royſton.* P. 2. (*b*) P. 27.

Chamberlain

Chamberlain of *England*, who married *Geffery de Mandevile* the firſt Earl of *Eſſex*.

It is foreign to my preſent Purpoſe and Deſign to make out the Antiquity of the good Town of *Royſton*, tho' it is reaſonable to believe it to be much more + Antique, than is above repreſented. *Royſton* not occurring in the Conqueror's Book of *Domeſday*, has been a prevailing Reaſon with many in a poſitive manner to conclude, that it was not then in being; whereas ſuch an Inference will be found to be too haſty and unjuſt, and proceeds either from want of knowing, or reflecting, that the Townſhip of *Royſton* did then (and may in ſome meaſure be ſaid even at this time to) lye in the Bounds and Limits of ſeveral Neighbouring Lordſhips and Pariſhes, as in thoſe of *Barkway* and *Therfield* in *Hertfordſhire*, in thoſe of *Melburn*, *Baſſingbourn*, and *Kneeſworth* in *Cambridgeſhire*; ſo that all thoſe Fees and Lordſhips to which *Royſton* did belong in the Conqueror's time, and was a Member or part of, being accounted for in the aforeſaid Pariſhes and Lordſhips, where they lay, and did truly and properly belong, is a ſufficient Reaſon for *Royſton*'s not being mentioned in the Survey of *Domeſday*. *Royſton* was made a diſtinct, independent Pariſh, taken out of and diſmember'd from the abovementioned Townſhips, and Pariſhes, by an Act of Parliament (*c*) in the 32d of *Henry* VIII, after the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, when a perpetual Vicar was eſtabliſhed, and the Priory-

(*c*) *Newcourt*'s *Repertort*. V. 2. P. 876. Collect. of Statutes *Anno* 32 *Hen*. VIII. Chap. 44.

Church became Parochial; tho' the Tithe of the Hay, Corn, Wool, Lamb and Calf, was reſerved to the Rectors and Vicars of the Pariſhes aforeſaid, and continues ſo to this Day; the Vicar of *Royſton* having a Rate paid him out of every Houſe, Stall, &c. for his Support.

The Province that I have undertook is to offer ſome Reaſons by way of proof to ſhew that there was a Croſs, with an Hermit's Cell and Oratory annexed in the Town of *Royſton*, long before the time of the Lady *Roiſia*; and here I ſhall occaſionally and by the way demonſtrate, that part of the Figures in the ſaid Oratory, aſcribed by Dr. *Stukeley* to be the work of that Lady, is without any ſhew of Truth, or Foundation. Reſerving what I have further to ſay on that Subject, to the Hiſtory of the Imagery in the ſaid Oratory, where I ſhall point out the many Errors and Miſtakes our Antiquary is guilty of in his Account of it.

## Of the CROSS at *ROYSTON*.

That the Croſs here was much more Antique than the time of Lady *Roiſia* aforeſaid, or the Reign of *Henry* II, as is repreſented by our Antiquary, I humbly conceive for theſe Reaſons.

*Firſt*, It was a practice in the *Saxon* times (and good Authority maintains even in the *Britiſh* times) to erect Croſſes on great publick Roads, eſpecially on that Spot and Angle where ſuch great Roads met and croſſed

croſſed each other, as in the Caſe here before us; this is granted by (*d*) our Author----- "It was (ſays he) in "the *Saxon* times a very uſual thing for Religious "People to ſet up their Monuments called Croſſes by "High-Ways ſides, and eſpecially where ſeveral Roads "met;" and he inſtances in one called *High-Croſs* in *Northamptonſhire*, where two *Roman* Roads croſs each other, the *Foſs* and the *Watling-Street*. Many like Inſtances might be produced, but as this is granted by the Doctor, I proceed to another Reaſon which teſtifies the Antiquity of this Croſs-----And that is-----

The Hundred's Court being kept here; the Diviſion of Countries into Hundreds is aſcribed by all creditable Authors, to King *Alfred* the *Saxon*, who began his Reign in 872, and died in 901; the Occaſion (*e*) as *Malmsbury* relates, was this-----The natural Inhabitants of *England*, by the Example of the *Danes*, were greedy of Spoil and Robbery, ſo that no Man could paſs to and fro' in ſafety without defenſive Weapons; *Alfred* therefore ordained Centuries, which they term Hundreds, and Decimes which they call Tithings, that every *Engliſhman* living under Law, ſhould be within ſome Hundred and Tithing, and if he was accuſed of any Tranſgreſſion, he ſhould forthwith bring in ſome one of the ſame Hundred and Tithing, that would be his Surety to anſwer the Law; but if he could find none ſuch to undertake for him, then to abide the Severity of the Law; and if any guilty Perſon ſhould fly, before or after his giving ſuch

(*d*) P. 4. (*e*) *Malmsb.* Fol. 24.

Security,

Security, that then all within the Hundred and Tithing ſhould be fined to the King. And of ſuch Dignity were theſe Hundred-Courts, that before the *Norman* Conqueſt, the Biſhop of the Dioceſe uſed at times to ſit therein, with the Lord of the Hundred, as he did alſo (on like emergent Occaſions) in the County-Court with the Earl, and in the Sheriff's Turn with the Sheriff.

Theſe Hundreds (being thus eſtabliſhed by *Alfred*) often took their Names from ſome remarkable Croſs within the ſame, and the Hundred-Court was held at the ſaid Croſs; thus the Hundred of *Norman-Croſs* in *Huntingtonſhire* took its Name from a Croſs there on the *Ermin-Street*; thus *Gilt-Croſs* gave Name to the Hundred of *Gilt-Croſs* in *Norfolk*, which Croſs ſtood (on the *Icenild-Way* leading from *Thetford* to *Norwich*) at *Rowdham*, or *Roodham*, taking its Name from the *Saxon* Word (*f*) Rood, or Croſs; which Croſs is alſo in ſome old MSS wrote *Gyde-Croſs*, ſerving as a Guide to Travellers, as moſt Croſſes are allowed to be partly erected for. And as theſe Croſſes gave Name to ſome Hundreds, ſo likewiſe, for their known Eminency and Repute, Hundred-Courts were often appointed from the very time of their firſt Eſtabliſhment to be kept here, and continued ſo to be kept for many Ages after the Conqueſt. Thus the Court-Leet for part of the Hundred of *Barlick-Way* in *Warwickſhire*, was kept (as Sir (*g*) *William Dugdale* obſerves) twice

(*f*) Thus *Croxton*, *Croſsby*, *Croſshall*, &c. Towns which take their Name from ſome Neighbouring Croſs.

(*g*) *Hiſt. Warw.* P. 487.

in

in the Year, at *Bredon-Croſs* in the Pariſh of *Ipſley*, near to the *Icenild-Street* there, the Title of the Court being *Bredon-Croſs Parcell. Hundredi de Barlick-Way*, and ſeveral Towns owe ſuit thereto, which Courts are held in the Name of the High-Sheriff for the time being, who keeps a Court-Baron in thoſe Towns, as well as a Leet. And thus in the Caſe before us, we find that the Jury in the fourth of *Edward* II, (*h*) found that *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hertford* with *Johanna* his Wife, held a three Week Court at *Royſes-Croſs*, which proves the Antiquity of this Croſs, and that the Hundred-Court had been held here from its firſt Eſtabliſhment in the time of *Alfred* when there was no doubt a Croſs here.

Mention being made in the laſt Section of *Barlick-Way-Hundred* in *Warwickſhire*, the Reader (I hope) will pardon me in a little Excurſion, and that is, the obſerving the Similitude, the Identity I may ſay of Name, with *Barkway* in *Hertfordſhire*; in which Pariſh the Croſs of *Royſton* (*i*) ſtood. *Barlick-Way* or *Barkway* by Contraction; ſignifies in the *Saxon* Language, a Way over the Hills, that is a Way by the *Graves*, the *Lows* or the *Tumulus*'s which were generally raiſed in theſe publick great Military Ways; and thus *Dugdale* (*k*) has well obſerved, that the Stile of the other part of the aforeſaid *Barlick-Way* Hundred, runs thus, *Barlick-Way Greve*, and takes its

(*h*) *Chauncy*'s *Hiſt. Hertf.* P. 90.
(*i*) Of *Royſton*'s being in five Pariſhes, ſee above.
(*k*) *Dugd. Hiſt.* of *Warw.* P. 487.

Name

Name from a little Spot of Ground about eight Yards Square upon the top of a Hill, the Remains of ſome remarkable old *Tumulus*; and it may be further obſerved that as in *Barlick-Way* Hundred, the *Roman* Military Way called *Icenild-Street*, runs directly thro' it, *North* and *South*, ſo here the *Roman* Military Way called *Ermin-Street*, which gives Name to the Hundred, wherein both *Barkway*, and the old Croſs of *Royſton* were included, did run thro' this whole (*l*) Hundred of *Edwin-Stree* in the ſame manner; entring into it, a little before we come to *Hare-Street*, which alſo aſſumes its Name from it, and ſo on thro' *Barkway*, and to *Royſton-Croſs*, and did not go by *Buntingford*, and after that verge out into the Hundred of *Odſey*, by *Buckland*, as ſome Maps have repreſented.

But I proceed to a third Reaſon for the Antiquity of the Croſs, which I deduce from the Foundation of the Priory at *Royſton*, and the Title, by which it diſtinguiſhed itſelf. This Priory was founded by *Euſtachius* (*m*) *de Marc* in the Reign of King *Henry* II, + and dedicated to St. *Thomas* the Martyr of *Canterbury*, that is, *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who was murdered in 1170; ſo that between this Year and the Year 1189, in which King *Henry* II. died, this Priory muſt be granted to be founded. I have by me an old MS Deed in Velom of this Priory, but according to the Cuſtom of that Age without Date, it begins thus----- *Omnibus præſentes Litteras inſpecturis* (*n*) *O. Prior*

(*l*) *Edwin-Stree*, by Corruption for *Ermin-Street*.
(*m*) *Mon. Angl.* V. 2.
(*n*) O. for *Osbertus*.

*de*

*de Cruce (o) Roheys, & ejuſdem loci Convent.* &c.

-----This Deed, as I take it, was made in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* III, or before----- This Stile and Title *De Cruce Roheys* is uſed by way of Eminency, and beſpeaks ſome well known, remarkable Croſs, of great Fame and Antiquity; and was, no Doubt, the very ſame Stile and Title which the Prior and Convent took up, and made uſe of from the Foundation of the Priory; if then the abovementioned Croſs was founded by Lady *Roiſia* (as our Antiquary maintains) about the end of the Reign of King *Henry* II. ſhe being very buſy in *(p)* cutting out part of the Imagery of the Oratory (which adjoined to, and was an Appendix to the Croſs) in the Year 1187, but two Years before the Deaths of the aforeſaid King and Lady *Roiſia*, there could not poſſibly be any + length of time to make the ſaid Croſs of ſuch known Eminency and Repute, as that the Priory ſhould take its Stile and Title from it. This would be to ſet forth an *Ignotum per Ignotius*; ſo that it is both juſt and reaſonable to conclude, that the Croſs was of remarkable Antiquity, and that it was founded long before the time of our Author's Lady *Roiſia*, even in the *Saxon* Age.

Our Antiquary here runs himſelf into Difficulties, out of which, it will not be eaſy to extricate himſelf; he (*q*) fixes the Death of Lady *Roiſia* and that of

(*o*) Here is a Circumflex over the *ys*, whether the Name is *Roheys*, or *Rohcyſue* I leave to the Reader.

(*p*) P. 37, 38. (*q*) Compare P. 45, with P. 51.

King *Henry* II. to the Year 1189, and ſays, " that " the Monaſtery (or Priory) was built immediately " after her Death, and on Account of her living " here; and then adds, it was a Compliment to King " *Henry* II. to dedicate this Monaſtery to *Thomas a* " *Becket*, as the King himſelf had done by *Waltham-* " *Abby*, according to a Vow he made; and that King " *Henry* II. very much encouraged this Foundation " and Monaſtery."

The King's rededicating the Abby of (*r*) *Waltham* was in the Year 1177, and about this time it is reaſonable to think that the Priory of *Royſton* was founded, whilſt the Affair of *Thomas Becket* the Archbiſhop was freſh; for if this Priory was not founded till the Year 1189, in which Lady *Roiſia* and King *Henry* II. died, I cannot ſee what time that King could poſſibly have (he dying on the ſixth Day of *July* in the ſaid Year) either to encourage this Monaſtery, or to be complimented on Account of its Dedication to St. *Thomas* the Martyr.

But our Author proceeds, and in the very ſame Paragraph, tells (*s*) us, that in the firſt Year of King *Richard* I. Son and Succeſſor to *Henry* II. a Fair was granted to the Canons of *Royſton*. This Charter bears Date *November* 9, 1189, four Months after the Death of King *Henry* II. By this Charter King *Richard* not only confirms to them all the Revenues where-

(*r*) *Dugd. Mon. Angl.* V. 2. P. 13.
(*s*) P. 45. *Dugd. Mon. Angl.* V. 2. P. 264.

with

BL

with that Priory was founded, and endowed; but alſo grants them a Fair for all the Week of *Penteco ſt*, and a Weekly Market on *Wedneſday*, according to the Liberties of the Markets and Fairs granted to the Canons of *Dunſtable*. If then the Priory of *Royſton* was founded (as our learned Doctor aſſerts after the Death (*t*) of Lady *Roiſia* in 1189) and that immediately upon the erecting of it, the Town of *Royſton* aroſe, give me leave to congratulate him in the Name of all that good Townſhip, in thus erecting in the Space of a few Months, ſo goodly a Town, as this muſt be allowed to be, thus qualified for a Weekly Market, and an Annual Fair for a whole Week, which ſuppoſes it to be a Place of Concourſe and Trade, capable of good Reception, and all this to have ſprung up, in the Space of a few Months, from the Death of *Roiſia* in 1189, to the Date of King *Richard*'s Charter *November* 9, in the ſaid Year, ſuch an Architect as this, muſt merit to be in Commiſſion for the *Georgia* Colony, or the Bridge at *Weſtminſter*.

A Fourth Reaſon for the Antiquity of this Croſs, before the time aſſigned by our Author, may be taken from the Name of it, *Roheys-Croſs* or *Roheyſia*'s; *Roiſia*, or as our Antiquary ſays, plain *Roſe* in *Engliſh*, cannot anſwer to (*u*) *Roheys* or *Roheſia*, there ſeems to me to be ſomething of *Britiſh* or *Saxon* Derivation in

(*t*) P. 51, and P. 3.

(*u*) Probably ſome old *Britiſh* or *Saxon* Saint, on this *Ermin-Street* near to a Place called *High-Croſs* by *Wades-Mill*, in this County of *Hertford*, was a Nunnery called *Roheyney* or *Roheenia*, founded by *Conan*, Duke of *Britain* and *Richmond*.

the Name, but this I leave to the Curious, and proceed to account for the Antiquity of the Cell and Oratory annexed to the Croſs.

## Of the CELL and ORATORY.

That it was a Cuſtom and Practice in the *Saxon* times to erect a Cell or Cells, with a Chapel or Oratory thereto annexed, near to eminent and remarkable Croſſes, where Hermits had their Station, is a Conceſſion of our Author (*w*). "Croſſes (ſays he) thus "ſet by Road-ſides, ſerved two good Purpoſes, to "put People in mind of ſaying their Prayers, and of "directing them in the Road they wanted to go; a "lettered Direction there was but few at that time "a Day could read, therefore uſually ſome Perſon "reſided at the Place, on Purpoſe to direct them. "And many Religious Perſons in thoſe times built "themſelves Cells, and ſpent their whole Life, that "they might be uſeful in directing Travellers, and "in praying for them, as an Act of great Charity "and Benevolence. And ever ſince the Beginning of "Chriſtianity to this time, it has been a frequent "Cuſtom for Perſons of a ſerious and Religious Diſ-"poſition to ſequeſter themſelves from the World, and "make them Cells and Grotto's in Rocks and Caverns, "and by Highways ſides. It is an Uſage ſtill con-"tinued in Popiſh Countries, thus I ſuppoſe Lady "*Roiſia* choſe to devote herſelf in this very Place, "where ſhe built the Croſs, and in *P.* 8, he obſerves

(*w*) P. 4.

"that

" that Lady *Roisia* had this her Chapel or Oratory,
" near to her Cell.

## REMARKS.

That such Cells with their Oratories annexed, were in the *Saxon* times, might be proved by many Instances; I shall only mention one, the Cliff or Cell of *Guy* the great and famous Earl of *Warwick* in the Reign of King *Athelstan* about 926. This (says (*x*) Sir *William Dugdale*) being a great Cliff in the *Western* Bank of *Avon*, was made choice of by that pious Man St. *Dubritius* (who in the *Briton*'s time, had his Episcopal Seat at *Warwick*) for a Place of Devotion, where he built an Oratory dedicated to St. *Mary Magdalen*, unto which long after, in the *Saxon*'s Days, did a devout Hermit repair, who finding the natural Rock so proper for his Cell, and the pleasant Grove, wherewith it is back'd, yielding Entertainment fit for Solitude, seated himself here. Which Advantages invited also the famous *Guy*, sometime Earl of *Warwick*, after his notable Atchievements, having weaned himself from the deceitful Pleasures of this World, to retire hither, where receiving Ghostly Comfort from that Hermit, he abode till his Death.

And that such a Cell with its Oratory annexed, was here also erected in the *Saxon* times may very reasonably be allowed, from the very Name of that Capital Manor of *Newcells*, *Neucells*, or *Newsells*,

(*x*) *Hist.* of *Warwicks.* P. 183.

in

in the Townſhip or Pariſh of *Barkway*, held by *Eudo*, Son of *Hubert*, conſiſting of four Hides of Land and half a Virgate at the Conqueror's Survey, which Manor the ſaid *Eudo (y)* granted to the *Rovecheſters*, or *Rocheſters*, to be held of him as the Capital Lord. This ſaid Manor ſeems to derive its Name from the Cell and Station of a Hermit, here reſiding; the *Saxons* 'tis well known gave Names to Towns and Places from the Nature of their Site, or from ſomething that was remarkable, near adjoining, as this Cell (no doubt) was in the *Saxon* times, from the Hundred-Court's being held at the Croſs hereto belonging, and a Jury in the ſixth of *Edward* I, found that it was ſituate in the Fee of the Manor of *Newſels*; and our Antiquary allows the Croſs, &c. to be in the ſaid (z) Manor, and gives this Reaſon for his Lady *Roiſia*'s ſetting it up here, it being on her own Fee, which otherwiſe indeed ſhe had no Right or Title to have done.

+ The Capital Manor of *Newcells*, thus deriving its Name from this Cell and Oratory adjoining, even in the *Saxon* times may be looked upon as a Proof of the Antiquity of it; many Ages before that of Lady *Roiſia*; and there is no doubt but that ſome one Hermit or more (as the Road and Thorough-Fare here was ſo great) was here ſtationed, to be always at hand, ready to attend on Travellers, which muſt undoubtedly

(y) *Magna Brit.* V. 2. P. 969, the *Rocheſters* were conſiderable Benefactors to the Priory of *Royſton*; *Ralph de Rouchſter* being a Cofounder of it.

(z) *Chauncey's Hiſt. Hertf.* P. 99.

be

be an Office much more belonging to, and more becoming, ſome Religious Man and Hermit, than any Religious Woman, or Lady *Roiſia* whatever.

As I have thus endeavoured to prove that here was a Croſs, a Cell with its Oratory in the *Saxon* times, and long before Lady *Roiſia* (*a*); I ſhall now, as I propoſed, demonſtrate our learned Antiquary's Lady *Roiſia*, to have had no part or ſhare in carving one particular Piece of Imagery on the Wall of the Oratory, to be ſeen in *Table* the third, as is maintained by the Doctor; and that is N° I, which he aſſures us is to repreſent *Hugh de Beauchamp*, the Father of *Payn de Beauchamp*, the ſecond Husband of Lady *Roiſia*-----His own Account is this,----- (*b*) "Next to this leſſer "Crucifix, is manifeſtly a Shield or Coat Armorial, "the Feſs upon it, is very plain, high raiſed, and "the other Marks or Sketches ſo like to Croſs-Croſslets, that we cannot help ſuppoſing it to mean the "Arms of the *Beauchamps*-----Gules, a Feſs between "ſix Croſslets, Or. It was at this very time of Day, "that taking up Coats of Arms began, and the Croſſes "particularly had reſpect to thoſe *Jeruſalem* Peregri-"nations. There may be ſome ſpecial Hiſtory in "Lady *Roiſia*'s Mind, when ſhe cut theſe Figures, "which we cannot poſſibly recount, but it ſeems, "that ſhe means by this Figure bearing this Shield "*Hugh de Beauchamp*, the Father of her Husband. "He was a Progenitor of a moſt numerous Race of "our *Engliſh* Nobility; he had a vaſt Eſtate given

(*a*) P. 25. (*b*) P. 41.

"him

" him by the Conqueror for his Services, as appears
" in *Domeſday-Book*. This I have marked in the Plate
" N° I. "

## REMARKS.

Before I enter on the Merits of this Shield, or Piece of Coat-Armour, I hope our Learned Antiquary will pardon me in charging him with a plain, ſelf evident Contradiction, in the above ſpecified Paragraph or Section; and as my whole View in this my Anſwer, or Remarks, is the Truth, and to clear up the Antiquity of the *Royſton* Oratory, Cell and Croſs, as I preſume, the Doctor's was, in publiſhing his *Origines Royſtonianæ*, this I'm perſuaded he will be the more readily inclined to do. The Contradiction is this-----*Hugh de Beauchamp*, the Bearer of this Shield is proved by our Author to live in the Conqueror's time, and to have been rewarded by him for his Services, as *Domeſday-Book* certifies.-----Yet we are taught that it was in the time of King *Henry* II. in the time of Lady *Roiſia*, about this very time of Day (after 1170, when Lady *Roiſia* is ſuppoſed by our Author to have erected her Croſs, &c.) that taking up Coat of Arms began, and that the Croſſes particularly had reſpect to theſe *Jeruſalem* Peregrinations; and theſe Peregrinations are fixed by him to the Year (*c*) 1177; if then it
+ was at this very time of Day, with what Truth or Juſtice, can *Hugh de Beauchamp* be ſaid to be here repreſented, and to bear the abovementioned Shield or

(*c*) P. 33. 34, &c.

Coat-

Coat-Armour, near a Century before ſuch Coat-Armour, and particularly the Croſs-Croſslets uſed to be borne, as we are told in the ſame Paragraph. I muſt entreat our Antiquary to give up the aforeſaid Paragraph, and his Lady *Roiſia*'s carving this Piece of the Imagery; and of the two Aſſertions here I am at a Loſs which is to be credited, whether we are to reject his Hiſtory of Coat-Armour, and to look upon the Figure as that of *Hugh de Beauchamp*; or to reject the Figure, and ſtand to the Hiſtory of Coat-Armour.

The great Antiquary Sir *William Dugdale*, Garter King at Arms, is a proper Judge on the Subject here in Queſtion-----(*d*) *William de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, who died in 1298, bore for his Arms Gules (*e*) Semè of Croſs-Croſslets with a Feſs, Or; which Croſs-Croſslets were by Him added to his Coat, for his FATHER USED THEM NOT; but whether as a Badge of any Pilgrimage, that he made unto the Holy Land, or Vow to do ſo, I will not take upon me (ſays Sir *William*) to determine. Here then is a plain unexceptionable Proof (to which I ſhall add more, when I come to ſpeak of the Imagery under *Table* III.) that Lady *Roiſia* who died in 1189, could not poſſibly have any hand or deſign in the Carving this Figure, and this Shield. So that there could not be any ſpecial Hiſtory (as our Author declares) in Lady *Roiſia*'s Mind, when ſhe cut theſe Figures, ſhe being dead about one Century before this Shield and Coat-Armour was

(*d*) *Dugd. Hiſt. Warw.* P. 314.
(*e*) Sir *William* gives this Blazoning from *Cartul. Warw. Com.* f. 75.

aſſumed by *William de Beauchamp*, the firſt that bore it; tho' indeed he has made a ſpecial Hiſtory of it.

Having premiſed this, the next thing that offers itſelf to be conſidered, is the Hiſtory and Imagery of the three *Tables*; but before I enter on that, I beg leave to ſpeak a Word or two relating to Lady *Roiſia*'s *(f)* Genealogy; and here it is to be wiſhed that our Author had taken proper Care that the Pedigree in the *Table*, had tallied with his Account of the Family in the Body of his Book.----In the *Table*, *Alberic de Vere*, ſecond Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, Father of Lady *Roiſia* died in 1140, in the Body of the Book *(g)* he died in 1143.----In the *Table*, *Geff. de Magnavile*, Earl of *Eſſex*, ſecond Son of Lady *Roiſia* died in 1176, in the Body of the Book (*P.* 17.) in 1167.----In the *Table*, *William de Magnavile*, Earl of *Eſſex*, third Son of Lady *Roiſia* died in 1189, in the Book he died in 1190, *P.* 19.

Theſe may be ſaid to be Miſtakes of the Printer, I allow it, and if they had been *Errata*'s in Letters or falſe Spelling, I ſhould not have taken Notice of them, but falſe Dates uncorrected are of bad Conſequence; the Proof and Truth of Hiſtory depend upon this, and therefore ſhould be ſet right by every Well-wiſher to Hiſtory and Antiquity.

*(f)* P. 12. *(g)* P. 10.

TABLE

## TABLE I.

The Doctor treating on *Table* I, the *Plate* of the Section of the Oratory, has this; (*b*) "We may "obſerve toward the Top, a piece of Maſonry, they "that viewed it near, ſay it is made of Brick, Tile "and Stone, laid with very good Mortar. Some think "this was done, to mend a defective Part in the chalky "Cliff, perhaps it was the original Deſcent out of her "Cell, from this ſhe went down by a Ladder. But "after ſhe was buried here, directly underneath, in "this *Eaſtern* Point of the Cell, *&c.* they made the "preſent Paſſage upwards, and walled up the other."

## REMARKS.

That the original Deſcent of the Hermit, was thro' the Arch, which the Maſonry above-mentioned now fills up, and that it continued to be the Deſcent into the Oratory out of the Cell as long as the Oratory was in uſe, 'till the Suppreſſion in the time of *Henry* VIII, I am fully perſuaded. At the bottom, or place called (by our Author) the Grave was the Foundation of a Brick Stair-caſe, the Doctor has obſerved *P.* 46.---- "As to that Bed or Grave on the *Eaſt-ſide* of the "Oratory, there was Brickwork found there, of a "very fine red ſort, brought from ſome diſtance, "People took away Pieces of it, as a Curioſity." This Brick Stair-caſe, was (as I take it) as high as thoſe

(*b*) P. 7, and 8.

 Cavities

Cavities or Holes which we ſee in the Wall of this Section; many ſuch Holes may be ſeen round the Walls of the Oratory, in which ſeveral Beams or Rafters were placed, and where was a Staging, or Landing-place, and from thence there might be, and no doubt was, ſome gentle, eaſy Steppings or Stairs formed; ſo as to go up and down, from the ſaid Arch with ſafety. And I wonder much, that the Maſonry here has not been broke through, which might give more Light into this Affair. It is not to be credited, that any Hermit ſhould have no better Conveniency of deſcending and aſcending near twenty five Feet, than that of a Ladder. As he advanced in Years (and generally, that was the time ſuch a Life was entered on) ſuch an Aſcent and Deſcent muſt be dangerous, I may ſay, impracticable. Lady *Roiſia*, whom he makes to aſcend and deſcend by this Ladder in 1187, muſt be then, very much advanced in Years, ſhe had buried her firſt Husband forty three Years, ſo that I leave him to tell us, how practicable it was for her; it muſt be granted that it was Indecent in her as a Woman, and it was forbid the Prieſts under the Law, for a very good Reaſon----- *Neither ſhalt thou go up by ſteps unto my altar*----- Exod. *chap.* xx. *ver.* 26.

The other, or the preſent Entrance in the Highway was alſo, as I take it *ab Origine*, and by ſome eaſy Steppings or Stairs, reſting on the Staging or Landing-place above-mentioned, where all Religious Travellers, *&c.* entered, to hear Divine Service, and to perform at any time their own Devotions at ſome one Altar or other,

other, and where their favourite Saint preſided; and five ſuch Altars, with their Tutelary Saints may be here obſerved; and ſuch a Number, &c. cannot be ſuppoſed to be for the Service of any Lady *Roiſia*, any ſingle Hermit, or Anchoreſs; and it is not reaſonable to think that Religious Travellers, &c. could be admitted at all times, all Hours and Seaſons, thro' the Cell of the Hermit, which was thro' the Paſſage that is now arched up. And that there was an Hermitage here, and this was the Oratory, and continued to be till the general Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, appears from a Grant of that King, who on *December* 21, in his thirty firſt Year, in Conſideration of One thouſand ſeven hundred ſixty one Pounds five Shillings, granted to (*i*) *Robert Cheſter*, Eſq; Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, and *Katharine* his Wife, the diſſolved Priory of *Royſton*, with the Hermitage and this Oratory, &c.----And that two or three Hermits might here Cohabit, there is great Reaſon to believe not only from the Number of the Altars in the Oratory, but from the Size and Bigneſs of it, and the great Number of Travellers who paſſed by on the two famous Military Ways or Roads above-mentioned. Hermits had gone off from their firſt Deſign and Inſtitution, and had bid for ſeveral Ages a long adieu to the

(*i*) *Newcourt*'s *Repert.* V. 2. P. 801.

In the Grant it paſſed thus---- *Et inter alia Heremitagium de Berkway*--- and it is part of the Inheritance of *Edward Cheſter*, Eſq; together with the Priory at this Day, which *Edward* is deſcended from the above-mentioned *Robert*; and this is alſo a Proof, that it is in the Pariſh of *Barkway*, as I before obſerved, that *Royſton* was part of five Neighbouring Pariſhes.

Practice

Practice and Example of their Founder (as they ſtiled) *John* the *Baptiſt*; inſtead of a Deſert, they ſeated themſelves (as here) in Places moſt frequented, near ſome eminent Bridge, Ferry, or Way, where great Numbers of Paſſengers were obliged to paſs, which as it brought in a good Competency and Proviſion, for two or three, *&c.* ſo alſo a Neceſſity for ſuch a Number to do the Duty required; one of theſe was the Head or *Cuſtos* of the Hermitage, and they had their Chaplain or *Capellani* to officiate in the ſame; which I take to be the very Caſe of the Hermitage and Oratory here in Queſtion. To prove this to have been the Practice very antiently in the Reign of King *John*, I ſhall hear annex an Example from the Hermitage of *Downham-Market* in *Norfolk*, a Hermitage at the foot of the Bridge of the ſaid Town, a Place not to be compared with *Royſton* for Number and Reſort of Travellers and Paſſengers; where there were always reſident four Hermits, one of which was the Head or *Cuſtos*, and a perpetual, or an annual *Capellan*, aſſigned by the Abbey of *Ramſey*, to which Houſe the Hermitage belonged; as it is very probable, that at *Royſton* did, to the Priory, when it was founded. I ſhall give the Deed (it being a Curioſity and ſans Date) as I extracted it ſome time paſt, from the Evidences of the Honourable Sir *Thomas Hare*, Bart. of *Stow-Bardolph*, Lord of the Manor of *Downham-Market*.

----*Hæc eſt Conventio inter fratrem Ailettum qui tenet Heremit. de Downham & W^m' Perſona Eccleſ. de Downham*,

*Downham, quod ipſe Ailettus per omnibus Decimis & Oblationibus ejuſdem loci annuatim reddet Eccleſ. de Downham xii. Denar. ad Paſch. In Feſto autem Sci Andrei Capellan. de Downham Miſſam celebrabit in Capellâ Heremit. in Downham, & medietas Oblationum cedet Perſonæ. Eccleſ. de Downh. & alia Medietas fratribus ejuſdem loci. Nullus autem (k) Co..... perpetuus præter illos tres, qui modo ibi ſunt, viz. Sigherus, Stammerus, & Turſtanus, nec aliquis Capellanus perpetuus vel Annualis recipietur niſi per Eccleſ. Rameſienſ. cum aſſenſu Perſone Eccleſ. de Downh. qui Capellan. fidelitatem præſtabit, quod in nullo diminuet Jus Paroch. Eccleſ. de Downh. Confrat. qui ibi fuerint, Spritualia percipient ab Eccleſ. Rameſ. ad quam ſi pervenire non poterunt, eadem recipiant ab Eccleſ. de Downh. & non ab aliâ. Seculares autem Viri ſi qui ibi fuerint pertinebunt ad Eccleſ. de Downh. tanquam Parochiani. Si verò Abbas aliquem de Monachis ſuis mittere voluerit, quamdiù placuerit ibi remanebit. Iſta Conventio facta eſt apud Ramſey in præſentiâ Domini (l) Roberti Abbatis, & ejus Authentico Sigillo roborat. Utriumque fide præſtitâ, hijs Teſtibus Willo Priore, &c.*

----The next thing remarkable in *Table* I. is what our Author calls the Grave of Lady *Roiſia*, where I have obſerved the Foundation of a Brick Stair-caſe to have been; "Here (ſays he) ſhe was Buried, (*m*) "directly underneath, in this *Eaſtern* Point of the "Cell; and again, ſhe was Buried ſomewhat tumul-

(*k*) The Word is obſcure, likely *Confrater*.
(*l*) *Robert de Redings*, Abbot, in 1202.
(*m*) P. 8. and P. 47.

"tuouſly

" tuouſly and ſecretly in her Chapel here, by her
" moſt intimate Friends; her Scull and Bones were
" found in the Earth toward the bottom, as they
" emptied the Place. They ſaid the Bones were very
" much decayed, and for the moſt part carried away
" with the Rubbiſh. Her Scull is ſtill kept in the
" Place, but broken into ſeveral Pieces, her Teeth
" were very firm and white, and taken away by the
" Towns-People, and ſome of her Bones too, tho'
" they were not acquainted with her Name and Cir-
" cumſtance. I attentively viewed and conſidered her
" Scull; Anatomiſts know very well, to diſtinguiſh a
" Man's from a Woman's. By all the Skill I can
" pretend to in that Science, I dare pronounce it to
" be Female, and we have no Reaſon to doubt, that
" it was the Head of our famous Recluſe. "

## REMARKS.

We are told by (*n*) *Leland* a Name venerable amongſt all Hiſtorians and Lovers of Antiquity, that
+ this very Lady *Roiſia* was Buried in the Chapter-Houſe of the Priory of *Chickeſand* in *Bedfordſhire*, a Priory of her own Foundation. He had a Commiſſion from King *Henry* VIII, to ſearch the Evidences, Records, and whatever was valuable in every Religious Houſe in *England*; and how much the World is indebted to this Search, is very well known. This *Leland* then muſt be allowed to be a Perſon able to ſatisfy us on the Point in Queſtion, having ſo good Authority on his

(*n*) *Lel. Itin.* V. 1. P. 116.

ſide.

ſide. The learned *Dugdale* alſo (*o*) obſerves that in the Year 1167, ſhe lived in the aforeſaid Nunnery of *Chickeſand*, with her Siſter *Eſſex* among her Nuns, her ſecond Husband *Payn Beauchamp* being dead. Yet has the Doctor, unſupported by any Voucher or Authority, but that of his own Fancy, brought her from her beloved *Chickeſand*, beloved by all her Relations for her Sake, to this *Royſton* Oratory. Upon account of her being Buried at *Chickeſand*, it is reaſonable to think, that ſeveral of her Deſcendents not only richly endowed the ſaid Priory, but were there alſo Buried by her; in the Reign of King *John* we find *Geffery Fitz-Piers*, Earl of *Eſſex* (who married *Beatrix*, Grandaughter of *Beatrix*, Siſter to *Geffery de Magnavile*, Lady *Roiſia*'s Husband) to remove the Body of the ſaid *Beatrix* his Wife, to the Priory of *Shouldham* in *Norfolk*, at that time founded by him, of which Priory, the *Beauchamps* Earls of *Warwick* deſcended from the ſaid *Geffery*, were afterwards Patrons.---But our Author as an Adept in Anatomy, triumphs over the aforecited Authorities with a Scull in his Hand, and with an *Ipſe Dixit*, declares we have no Reaſon to doubt that it was the Head of our famous Recluſe.

I readily ſubmit to the Doctor's Skill and Judgment in Anatomy, but not to the Conſequence which he would draw from it, for it may be the Scull of a Female, and yet not the Scull of his famous Recluſe, *Roiſia*.

(*o*) *Dugd. Baronage* P. 204. *Mon. Angl.* V. 2. P. 238.

----It appears to have been a very antient Cuſtom and Practice for Hermits to receive and admit the Bodies of dead Perſons, Men and Women, to be Buried in their Oratories and Chapels, as Monks and Canons did in their Conventual Churches; this is well known (p) + *Dugdale* in his Hiſtory of the famous *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* (in the time of the *Saxon* King *Athelſtan*) after his Defeat of the *Daniſh* Champion *Colbrand*, has theſe Words---- "From whence the Earl, bent "his Courſe towards *Warwick*, and coming thither "not known of any, for three Days together took "Alms at the Hands of his own Lady, as one of "thoſe thirteen poor People unto which ſhe daily "gave Relief herſelf, for the Safety of him and her, "and the Health of both their Souls. And having "rendred Thanks to her, he repaired to an Hermit, "that reſided amongſt the ſhady Woods hard by, "deſiring by Conference with him to receive ſome "Spiritual Comfort, where he abode with that Holy "Man, 'till his Death, and upon his Departure out "of this World, which happened within a ſhort time, "ſucceeded him in that Cell; and continued the "ſame Courſe of Life, for the Space of two Years "after; but then diſcerning Death to approach, he "ſent to his Lady their Wedding Ring by a truſty "Servant, wiſhing her to take Care of his Burial: "Adding alſo, that when ſhe came, ſhe ſhould find "him lying dead in the Chapel, before the Altar,

(p) *Hiſt. Warwickſ.* P. 301.

"and

" and moreover, that within fifteen Days after ſhe " herſelf ſhould depart this Life; whereupon ſhe came " accordingly and brought with her the Biſhop of the " Dioceſe, as alſo many of the Clergy, and other " People, and finding his Body there, did accordingly " inter it in that Hermitage, and was herſelf after- " wards buried by him. "-----Here we perceive that both Men and Women were admitted to be Buried in the Oratory of an Hermit, ſo that the Scull above-mentioned may be the Scull of a Female, and yet not the Scull of Lady *Roiſia*, and 'till the Doctor can bring ſome better Proof, I ſhall remain a Sceptick in this Point, having good Reaſon (as appears) to doubt, that it was the Head of his famous Recluſe.

----The next thing remarkable in *Table* I. is what our Author calls the (*q*) Circular Bench or Podium incompaſſing the Floor of the Crypt, or as he expreſſes it (*P.* 7.) " a kind of broad Bench, that goes " quite round the Floor, next to the Wall; broader " than a Step and not ſo high, as a Seat: This was " deſigned for her kneeling upon, rather for Proſtra- " tion, in her particular Acts of Devotion. "

## REMARKS.

I look upon this Aſcent, as a Step to the ſeveral Altars, and to diſtinguiſh their Site (on which they ſtood) from the Area or Body of the Oratory, in

(*q*) P. 40.

which Area all Supplicants had their Station, and paid their Devotions, at that Altar, or Saint they made choice of. There was not, I may ſay, one Altar in theſe Days, where there was not, a like Aſcent; at this very time, ſuch a *Gradus*, may be ſeen at the *Eaſt-Ends* of the *North* and *South Iſles* (as well as at the *Eaſt-End* of the Chancels) of moſt old Churches in the Country; it was always religiouſly obſerved, and was looked upon as the *Sanctum Sanctorum*.

----The laſt thing obſervable in *Table* I. are a few Images carved on the *North Eaſt* part of the Wall of the Oratory, but as theſe belong to that Group in *Table* III. I ſhall there treat of them.

## T A B L E II.

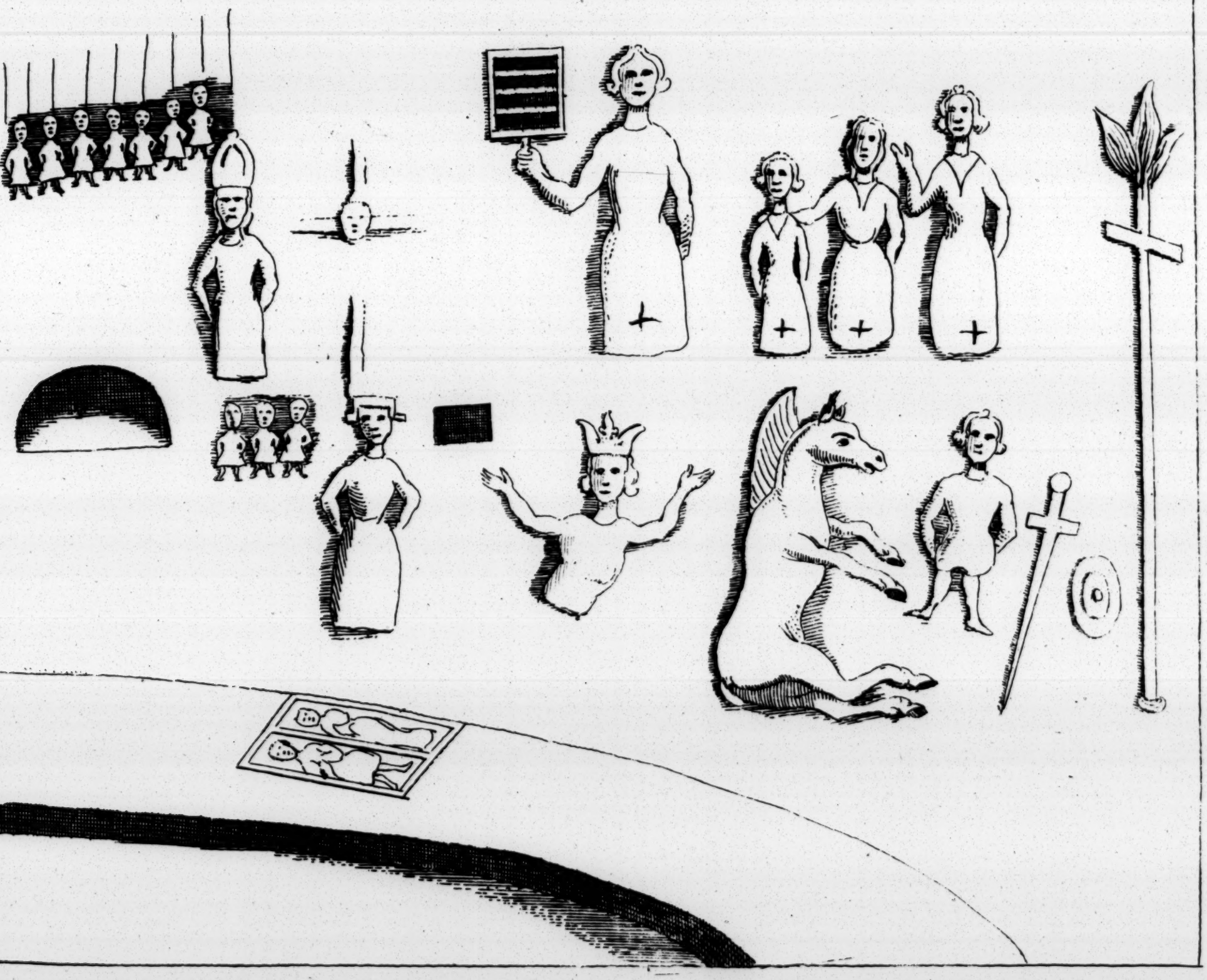
I ſhall here treat of the Figures on the *South* Wall of the Oratory, in the ſame Order, as they ſtand, from the right to the left-hand, as 'tis both juſt and reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they were at firſt cut out; and ſo proceed regularly, and not run from one Figure to another, and from one *Table* to another, before the whole in that *Table* is accounted for, as our Author does, as may be ſeen thro' his whole Hiſtory of the Imagery (and by comparing, *P.* 28, with *P.* 37.) to make it the better agree and tally with certain Monkiſh Annals ſtrangely ſtretched and applied, as will appear from what follows.

B L

The South side of the C



TAB. II.
Page 28



" A. D. M.C.LXXXVII.

(*r*) " Let us turn our Eyes to the *South-ſide* of " *Roiſia*'s Oratory, which I have drawn in *Table* II. " there we have a large Piece of Hiſtory, which I " apprehend was cut by her, in the Year 1187; our " King *Henry* ſtands in compleat Armour, his Shield " laid by him, he holds his Sword upright in his " Hand. Before him ſtand two Perſons in long Re- " ligious Robes, the one has a Miter on, a Pallium " and an Archiepiſcopal Croſier in his Hand, and " the other Figure has been ſomewhat injured, but " he holds a great Crucifix in his Hand. There are " two other Figures ſtanding by, in long Robes, one " has a Nobleman's Coronet on.

" This Piece of Hiſtory I take to be thus explained " in *Benedict Abbot*, *P.* 464.----In the Year 1187, " the thirty third of *Henry* II. The King celebrated " the Feſtival of *Chriſtmaſs* with great Solemnity at " *Bedford*, no doubt at *Bedford-Caſtle*, which was " in Lady *Roiſia*'s Neighbourhood, and belonging to " her Son *Simon de Beauchamp*, probably ſhe herſelf " was there preſent. The Hiſtorian takes Notice of " the many Noble Perſonages, then with the King, " his Son *John*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, &c. At " this time the King had Notice, that at *Dover*, " were juſt arrived from Pope *Urban*, *Octavian* Car- " dinal Archdeacon, a Legate *de Latere*, and *Hugh de*

(*r*) See P. 37, and *Table* II.

" *Nunant*,

" *Nunant*, Clerk, Domeſtick Chaplain to the King,
" whom he had ſent to *Rome*, deſiring his Holineſs
" to ſend over a Cardinal to Crown his Son *John*
" King of *Ireland*. The King went directly to *Lon-*
" *don* to meet them; they, by the Authority of the
" Pope, took great State upon themſelves, made a
" grand Entry into *Weſtminſter-Abby*, on the Day of
" the Circumciſion, had a Miter on, and Croſſes car-
" ried before them, wherever they went, and wore
" red Garments.

" The King carried them over directly by the Ad-
" vice of his Council, to *Normandy*, to make Peace
" between him and the *French* King; he went to
" *Albemarle*, where *Roiſia*'s Son *William de Magna-*
" *vile*, Earl of *Albemarle* met him, and very many
" of the Hierarchy, Nobility, Knights, both of the
" Continent and of *England*. Juſt before the Feſtival
" of the Annunciation, the two Monarchs of *England*
" and *France* met; *William de Magnavile* was then
" a great Commander in the King's Army: At firſt,
" through the intolerable Demands of the *French*
" King, they could not agree, but prepared to Fight,
" and brought their Armies into the Field. At length
" the Legates and the other Archbiſhops, Biſhops,
" and Nobility of both Nations interpoſing, a Peace
" was concluded between them.

"----This I take to be the Meaning of the Picture
" before us, nor do I think it to be very ill deſigned;
" the Mitred Perſon is the Cardinal *Octavian*, the other
" carrying

" carrying the Crucifix is *Hugh de Nunant*. Aſſu-
" redly theſe are evident Confirmations of the Hiſtories
" of theſe times, as recorded in our Authors."

## REMARKS.

----The Explanation of theſe Figures as here given by our Author, with his Annals or Chronological Order, (as he ſtiles it) to juſtify it, will appear, as I conceive, from what follows, to be quite Vage, and wide of the true Deſign. It ſavours too much of prophane Hiſtory, and is by no means a proper Decoration for an Hermit's or an Anchoreſs's Cell; and what a Levity does the Doctor here aſcribe to his Lady *Roiſia?* What a wandering Recluſe does he make her? thus retiring from her ſacred Cell, that Religious Life ſhe had dedicated herſelf to, in her very old Age; when ſhe had, as we ſay, one Foot in the Grave, and 'tis probable her whole Body, if we reflect, that in this Year 1187, it was forty three Years compleat, ſince the Death of her firſt Husband *Geffery de Mandevile*, as appears from his Genealogy of (*s*) Dame *Roiſia*. A Time and Seaſon of Life not proper or decent for a Secular Perſon, much leſs for one, who had Profeſſed herſelf a Recluſe, to ſally out into ſuch a gay part of Life, as to celebrate with the King and his Nobility, the Feſtival of *Chriſtmaſs*, which was always (and eſpecially in the times we are now ſpeaking of) kept with all manner of Feaſting, Plays, Interludes, Maſquerades, Revels and Dancings.

(*s*) P. 12.

----I

----I hope therefore the Solution that I here offer, will be more to the Purpoſe----Here then is (I preſume) the Repreſentation of the Martyrdom (as it was prophanely called) of St. *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Perſon, with the Sword erect, ſets forth the Murderer of that Archbiſhop; the Habit beſpeaks his Dignity, he is in *Pontificalibus*, with a Miter, a Pallium and Croſier-Staff; not habited as a Cardinal Archdeacon, as our Antiquary calls *Octavian*. Of a like Miſtake may the Doctor be ſaid to be guilty, in aſſerting the other Perſon carrying the Crucifix, to be *Hugh de Nunant*, the King's Domeſtick Chaplain, this Perſon (if rightly repreſented by him in *Table* II.) might ſeem to be the Archbiſhop's Croſs-Bearer, who always attended him, as appears from antient Hiſtory, which gives large Accounts of the mighty Debates and Conteſts between the Metropolitants of *Canterbury* and *York* about Precedency in the bearing of their Croſſes. *Hugh de Nunant*, here called Clerk and the King's Domeſtick Chaplain, was (if BP. (*t*) *Godwin* is to be credited) at this time Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, ſo that ſuch an Office cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſuitable to him either as the King's Chaplain, or Embaſſador as he was, or as a Biſhop; yet we are told, that theſe Pictures are not ill deſigned, and that theſe are evident Confirmations of the Hiſtories of thoſe times, as recorded in our Authors. I cannot be of that Opinion.

*Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.*

(*t*) *Godw. de præſul. Angliæ.*

But

But our Antiquary adds---- " that *William Lilly*
" who lives in (*u*) the Houſe juſt over the Oratory,
" and was very aſſiſtant in drawing out the Earth,
" ſays, theſe two Figures at firſt appeared painted
" over of a red Colour, and I myſelf ſaw the Re- +
" mains of it. There are two little Nitches or Cavities
" in the Wall, to put Lamps in, and another at the
" bottom, under the Cardinal."

## REMARKS.

This is a Confirmation that this is to repreſent St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*---- I believe that all the Figures were decorated and painted, but Time, and the Rubbiſh that covered them has defaced their Embelliſhments: I ſhall take the Liberty to quote the (*w*) *Legend* on the Point in Queſtion.---- " And He was
" thus Martred in the Yere of our Lorde XI. C. LXXI.
" and was LIII Yere olde, and ſone after that (*x*)
" Saynt *Thomas* departed frô the Pope, the Pope
" wolde dayly loke upon the whyte Cheſyble that
" Saynt *Thomas* had ſayd Maſſe in, and the ſame
" Daye, that He was Martred, he ſawe it TORNED +
" INTO REDE, whereby he knew well, that the ſame
" Daye, he ſuffred Martyrdom for the Ryght of Holy
" Chyrche, and commaunded Maſſe of REQUIEM ſo-
" lempnly to be ſongen for his Soul."

(*u*) P. 39. (*w*) *Golden Legend*, by *Caxton*, P. 63.
(*x*) The Archbiſhop went to *Rome*, to appeal againſt King *Henry* II.

 ---Upon

---- Upon a ſtrict View of this Piece of the Imagery, our Author ſeems to me not to have repreſented it rightly. *(y)* The large Crucifix here, ſtands between the two Figures of the Archbiſhop, and the Perſon ſtiled very falſely the Croſs-Bearer, as it is not borne by him; by what appears of him he has an emaciated Face, *&c.* with a forked Beard, and, as I conceive, is to repreſent *John* the *Baptiſt*, ſo that the Crucifix here is an Altar between theſe two principal Figures; and to theſe two (*z*) the Priory of *Royſton* (as I ſhall ſhew) was dedicated, and they were the principal Parts of the Priory-Seal. It is very probably that this Cell and Oratory, on the founding of the aforeſaid Priory, came into the Patronage of the ſaid Priory; ſuch Inſtances being common in Hiſtory, ſo that this might be one Reaſon for the having ſuch an Altar here, and it is alſo a Proof that Lady *Roiſia* had no Concern in this piece of Imagery; the Foundation of the Priory being ſuppoſed by our Author to be after her Death. This Explanation does not only do Juſtice to the aforeſaid Figures, but alſo accounts for that Nich or Cavity cut in the Wall, at the bottom under the Crucifix or Altar; which was for Lamps to burn before theſe Saints; and I think, I may challenge our Antiquary to ſhew ſuch Reſpect ever paid to the Effigies of any Cardinal, or

*(y)* There was never (as far as ever I know, or can find) any Crucifix on the Staff borne by any Archbiſhop's Croſs-Bearer, the Staff was only headed with ſome Croſs, ſo that this is certainly an Altar.

(*z*) The Feaſt of the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*, was antiently the Annual Feaſt of the Town of *Royſton* ----- *Newcourt*'s *Repertor.* Vol. 2. P. 875.

Croſs-

Croſs-Bearer, when alive, and not canonized.----The Figure here, which repreſents a King,† favours alſo the aforeſaid Explanation, and is, as I conceive, the Figure of *Herod*, and ſo ſerves to clear up the Hiſtory.

† What he has on his Head is by no means like a Crown or at leaſt of thoſe Times

----The next thing remarkable in *Table* II, is the defaced Crucifix, of which our Author gives us this Account----(*a*) "To the right of St. *Laurence* and "the *French* King, is a defaced Figure, ſeeming to "have been a Crucifix; underneath it is a Female "Figure perfect. I take this to have been a Repre-"ſentation of the Croſs above Ground."

## REMARKS.

That this was not the Repreſentation of the Croſs above Ground, will appear from an Original Seal of the Prior and Convent of *Royſton*, annexed to a MS Deed in Velom, in my Collection of Abby-Seals, *viz.*

---*Omnibus præſentes litteras inſpecturis* (*b*) *O. Prior de Cruce Roheys & ejuſdem loci Convent. Salt. in Dño. Novit Univſitas vra Nos dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, & hac præſenti charta Nra confirmaſſe Willo Wiger pro homagio & Svitio ſuo triginta & ſeptem acr. tre nre in Campis de* (*c*) *Ereſwell, &c. Tenend. & Habend. de*

(*a*) P. 40. (*b*) *Osbertus*, as I take it, the Deed is ſans Date.
(*c*) *Ereſwell* in *Suffolk*, near *Mildenhale*; *Ralph de Rovecheſter*, or *Rocheſter*, was Lord of this Village, held of the Honour of *Bologne*, ſo that the Priory appears to have been endowed with theſe Lands by his Gift.

*Nob. & Succeſſoribus nr̃is ſibi, &c. Et ut, &c. præ-ſenti Scripto ſigillum Cap̃lj nr̃i fecim. apponi. Hijs Teſtibus. Baldewino de Bolon̄. Baldewiñ. de Eſſex, &c.*




By this Seal it appears that the *Royſton* Croſs, or the Croſs *de Cruce Roheys*, by which the Priory was ſtiled, was placed in the Centre of the Seal between two Figures; and that the ſaid Croſs had no Crucifix thereon; but was headed with a plain Croſs Patter, ſuch as was uſed by the Knights Templers. The Legend round the Seal, and the Figure on the Right-ſide of the Croſs, are much defaced; I take the Legend to have been *S. Pr̃. & Convent. Scor̃ Johis Bapt. & Tho. Martiris de Cruce Roheys*; that is, *Sigillum Prioris & Conventus Sanctorum Johannis Baptiſte*

&

& *Thome Martiris de Cruce Roheys.*---The Figure on the Right-hand, ſomewhat broken, is that of St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, he is in a looſe Veſtment tucked up before, and bears in his Right-hand, erect, ſomething reſembling a Twig, or tender Branch, germinating; this is moſt probably the Ἀκρίδες, the Locuſt, which was part of his Food. The Word *(d)* which we render Locuſts, ſignifies not living Creatures, as ſome have conceived, but the tender Tops of Herbs and Plants; and *Burchardus* in his Deſcription of the Holy Land, ſays, that he hath found in the Monaſteries of *Paleſtine*, near *Jordan*; a Food, which the Monks there uſe, of a ſort of Herbs called *Locuſtæ*, the ſame (ſay they) which the *Baptiſt* fed on. But this I leave to the Curious ---- On the Left-hand of the aforeſaid Croſs, is the Figure of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* in his *Pontificalibus*.

" A. D. M. C. LXXIII.

(*e*) " By this Crucifix (ſays our Antiquary) is the " Figure of St. *Laurence*, the Roman Archdeacon, " with the Gridiron, the Inſtrument of his Paſſion, in " his Hand. He is in long Garments beſuiting his " Office, marked with a Croſs toward the bottom. " He ſuffered Martyrdom in the ninth Perſecution, in " the Reign of *Gallienus*, at *Rome*, it is celebrated " by the Church on *Auguſt* the tenth.---Underneath " him is the Picture of a King, with a Crown on, his

(*d*) *Iſidor. Peluſ. Epiſt.* 5. ----- *Burch.* P. 550.
(*e*) P. 28. and *Table* II.

" Hair

" Hair dreſſed in the Faſhion of the times we are
" upon, the Reign of King *Henry* II; he lifts up
" both his Hands, as in Sign of great Fear and Aſto-
" niſhment. Theſe two Figures were cut, as I appre-
" hend, in the Year 1173, and regard a memorable
" Action that happened on St. *Laurence*'s Day, re-
" lating to our King *Henry* II, and *Lewis* the then
" King of *France*. The Hiſtory is this.....

" *Roiſia*'s Son *William de Magnavile*, Earl of *Eſſex*,
" was now with the King in *Normandy*, one of his
" chief Councellors and Generals, he was the firſt
" amongſt the *Engliſh* Nobles ſworn on the Part of the
" King to the Marriage Contract, betwixt his Son
" *John*, and the Daughter of the Earl of *Maurien*.
" *Hern*'s *Benedict. Abb. Petrob. P.* 43; this Son *John*,
" by the Inſtigation of the *French* King rebelled againſt
" his Father; the *French* King immediately came to
" his Aid with all his Power, to ravage the Dominions
" of the King of *England*, on the Continent in *Nor-*
" *mandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Brittany*. The Caſtle
" of *Albemarle* was firſt taken; then the *French* King
" beſieged *Vernoul* with a vaſt Army, and great *Ap-*
" *partus* of Military Engines and Machines; where
" *Hugh de Lacy* and *Hugh de Beauchamp*, her *(f)*
" Brother-in-Law, or Couſin were Conſtables, who
" defended it with great Conſtancy, for a whole Month.
" The Burghers having then ſpent all their Proviſion,
" came to a three Days Truce with the *French* King,
" ſtipulating, that they ſhould have Liberty of going

*(f) Roiſia*'s.

" to

" to the King of *England*, and requiring Succour;
" which if it was not afforded them on the third Day,
" the Feſtival of St. *Laurence*; they would give up
" the Town. Upon this they gave Hoſtages to the
" *French* King; and he ſwore to them ſolemnly, that
" if on that Day they delivered up the Town, he
" would reſtore the Hoſtages.

" The King of *England* muſtered his Forces im-
" mediately, under him *William de Magnavile Roiſia*'s
" Son had a moſt eminent Command. When they
" were in Sight of *Vernoul*, eager to Revenge the
" Cauſe of their Monarch, the *French* King treache-
" rouſly ſent an Embaſſy to King *Henry*, deſiring to
" have a Parly with him the next Day, at a certain
" Place, by Nine of the Clock, which was agreed
" upon. But in the Morning, neither the *French* King,
" nor any from him came to the Place appointed;
" this was on St. *Laurence*'s Day; King *Henry* from
" thence beheld the Town of *Vernoul* in Flames. For
" the *French* King having thus deceived him, had the
" the Town delivered up to him by the Burghers, ac-
" cording to the Agreement. Nevertheleſs *Lewis* on
" his Part, not regarding his Oath, ſet Fire to the
" Town, carried away the Burghers, the Cattle and
" Hoſtages, and fled with great Precipitation. He was
" forced to leave his Tents, Baggage, Military Engines
" and all his Stores behind, fearing the Vengeance of
" brave King *Henry*.

" The

" The King perceiving this, purſued him with the
" Edge of the Sword, and made a very great Slaughter
" among the *French*, and took an innumerable Com-
" pany of Priſoners, and continued the War all that
" Campaign with very great Effect.---- Thus *Benedict*
" the Abbot of *Peterborough* writes.---- Let it be had
" in Memory, and be it known, that this Flight of
" the *French* King was on *Thurſday* the fifth of the
" Ides of *Auguſt*, on the Vigil of St. *Laurence*, to the
" Praiſe and Glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who by
" puniſhing the Wickedneſs of Perjury, ſo ſoon re-
" venged the Injury offered to his Martyr." *Roger Hoveden*, who was *Henry*'s Chaplain has the ſame Words, *P.* 306.

" This Flight of the perfidious King is commemo-
" rated and carved by our Lady *Roiſia* on the Wall of
" her Chapel; and doubtleſs on the Anniverſary of this
" Day ſhe performed here her Religious Offices, to
" thank the Almighty, for thus vindicating the Honour
" of the King, and preſerving her Son; the Figure of
" the King is *Lewis* VII. of *France*.

" This Event made a great Noiſe all over *Europe*,
" *Polydore Virgil* ſeems to confound it, with King
" *Lewis*'s beſieging *Roan* the Year following; for he
" writes, the *French* King uſed to keep St. *Laurence*'s
" Day very religiouſly. He ceaſed the Siege and gave
" the Inhabitants a formal Truce, nevertheleſs ſome of

" his

" his Men making a ſecret Attack upon the Town,
" were diſcovered by our Men, who invoking St. *Lau-*
" *rence*, revenged the Perfidy of *Lewis* with a great
" Slaughter.

" St. *Laurence*'s Day is *Auguſt* 10; *Upminſter* +
" Church in *Eſſex*, where *Geffery de Magnavile* her
" firſt Husband had an Eſtate, is dedicated to St. *Lau-*
" *rence*. In *Walſingham*'s *Hypodigma Neuſtriæ*, P. 449.
" *Edit. Francof.* a like Inſtance of the Notion of
" St. *James*'s puniſhing the Perfidy of *Matthew* Earl
" of *Boloign*, this ſame Year 1173; this Year likewiſe
" her Son *William de Magnavile* took Priſoner in
" Battle *Ingeram de Trie*, a great Man."

## REMARKS.

What a ſurprizing, long Bead-roll of Romance is here brought in by our Author? In the principal Figure (at this Altar or Crucifix) St. *Laurence*, he could not poſſibly err, but in the Group about it, he is extravagantly out; wide of the true End and Deſign of this Piece, which is to repreſent Sacred and Church Hiſtory, agreeable to the Place, and not Prophane and Secular. On the Right-ſide of this Crucifix ſtands alſo the Figure of a Biſhop (or Pope) with a *(g)* Miter or

*(g) Urban* the Fifth, who flouriſhed in 1362, was the firſt Pope that + took up the *Tiara*, or Triple Crown, to ſet forth, that the Vicar of Jeſus *(tho' his kingdom was not of this world)* had Pontifical, Imperial and Regal Power. So that this Piece of Imagery ſeems by this, to be carved after that time.

† rather *Tiara*, but of him our learned Antiquary is profoundly ſilent. This I preſume is Pope *Sixtus*, or St. *Sixte*, as he is ſtiled by the Church of *Rome*, and to him and St. *Laurence* this Altar ſeems principally to be dedicated. This St. *Sixte* brought up St. *Laurence* from his Youth, and made him his Archdeacon of *Rome*; in the Commemoration-Office or Feſtival of St. *Sixte*, mention is made of St. *Laurence*; as in that of St. *Laurence*, mention is alſo made of St. *Sixte*; their Sufferings and Martyrdoms bear an inſeparable Connexion, ſo that agreeable to this, we ſee them here figured together, as they ſuffered, in a few Days of one another, under the Emperor *Galyen* (*h*) or *Decyan*. ----

" Whan *Sixtus* hadde refuſed to do Sacrefyce, and was
" broughte into the Pryſon of *Mamertyn*, the bleſſed
" Saynt *Laurence* cryed after hym, ſayenge, ---- Fader
" whyder goeſt thou without thy Sone, Preſte whyder
" goeſt thou without thy Myniſter. To whom *Sixte*
" ſay'd, Son, I leve You not, but greter Battaylles ben
" due to The, and after iii Dayes Thou Deken ſhalt
" folowe Me Preſte.

And in the Office of the Church of *Rome*, on St. *Sixtus*'s (*i*) Day *Auguſt* 6, as in that of St. *Laurence Auguſt* 10, we find the ſame Words repeated --- *Quo progrederis ſine filio, Pater? Quo Sacerdos, ſine Diacono properas?*

(*h*) *Galyen* had two Names, *Galyen* and *Decyan*, and under hym, *Syxte* and *Laurence* ſuffred Martyrdome, about the Yere of our Lord 260. *Gold. Legend*, P. 211, and P. 207, 210.

(*i*) *Breviar. Rom.*

Under

† It is a plain Mitre according to both Plates, not at all like the Tiara.

Under the Feet of this *Sixte*, we may alſo obſerve three (*k*) ſmall Figures, I don't find our learned Antiquary's good Friend BENEDICIT ABBAS able to help him out here; of theſe we have no Account given us; they may probably repreſent St. *Feliciſſimus*, St. *Agapitus* and the aforeſaid *Sixte*, (*l*) who all ſuffered, and are commemorated together, on the ſixth Day of *Auguſt*. We are aſſured that the Figure of the King here, is *Lewis* VII. of *France*, but as I have obſerved, this Group of Figures bears a Relation to the Sufferings, &c. of St. *Laurence*, ſo that I am perſuaded, it may with more Juſtice be ſaid to be *Decyan* or *Galyen*, as I ſhall afterwards endeavour to prove.

## " A. D. M. C. LXXVI.

(*m*) Our Author proceeds, and ſays---- " On the " Left-hand of St. *Laurence*, and the *French* King; " are three Figures, of a Man, a Woman and a Child; " all in long Garments, and marked toward the bottom " with a Croſs: The Woman lays her Arm upon the " Child's Neck; I take them to be *Joſeph*, the Virgin " and our Saviour an Infant. ---- Underneath them is " the Figure of a Horſe, a Man, his Sword and Shield, " all as thrown down; this, no doubt, means the Con- " verſion of St. *Paul*; our pious Lady as I apprehend, " cut theſe Figures on account of a very remarkable " Circumſtance happening in the Year 1176, which

(*k*) *Table* II.
(*l*) *Breviar. Rom. Gold. Legend*, P. 207.
(*m*) P. 31. *Table* II.

" we find recited in *Benedict Abbas*, P. 130. In that
" Year, King *Henry* II. and the King his Son along
" with him, held their Court at *Windsor* upon the
" *Christmass* Holy-days; and Cardinal *Hugbesun*, sent
" from the Court of *Rome*, was at the same time at
" *York* with the Archbishop. Before the Purification
" of the Virgin, and about the Feast of the Conver-
" sion of St. *Paul*, the King came to *Northampton*,
" and held a great Parliament there, of the Hierarchy,
" the Nobility and Commons, and enacted the Assize
" of the Realm by their joint Authority; *i. e.* they
" divided the Realm of *England* into six Circuits, and
" appointed three Justiciaries to each Circuit, much
" in the manner that has been observed ever since to
" this Day, for the publick Administration of Justice.
" The whole Affair may be seen in the above cited
" Author; who adds, it was done at *Clarendon*, and
" and after recorded at *Northampton*. It is a matter
" of Consequence, which our Lady *Roisia*, would be
" the more induced to take Notice of, on account
" of her Father having been Lord Chief Justice of
" *England*.

" At the same Parliament at *Northampton*, upon
" the Summons of the King, *William* King of *Scotland*
" appeared, with the Bishops of *Scotland*, to acknow-
" ledge Subjection to the Church of *England*.---These
" Events I take to be the Occasion of Lady *Roisia*'s
" cutting these Figures on the Wall of her Chapel;
" there might be some particular Incidents therein
" beside relating to her Family, which we know not.

" This

" This Year 1176, was a Year highly glorious to " our *Engliſh* Monarchs; *Walſingham* tells us, here " were in the Court at once, Ambaſſadors from *Al-* " *phonſus* King of *Caſtile*, *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, " *Emanuel* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, *Frederick* " the *Roman* Emperor, *William* Archbiſhop of *Rhemes*, " *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Philip* Earl of " *Flanders*."

## REMARKS.

That the three Figures of a Man, a Woman, and a Child are to repreſent the Holy Family, may be admitted, tho' I do not remember, that I have ever met with them as here figured and delineated; but the Figure of an Horſe, a Man, his Sword and Shield by him, which, our Antiquary ſays (no doubt) means the Converſion of St. *Paul*, is far from the Point in Queſtion, and is not to be admitted. (*n*) The Converſion of St. *Paul* is very differently delineated, the Apoſtle is in a *Roman* Dreſs, in a groveling State and Poſture, by his Horſe on the Ground; the Apoſtle is unarmed; whereas the Figure here ſtands upright, and in compleat Armour, St. *Paul*'s Horſe is always bridled and ſaddled, and very juſtly; the Horſe here is without any Furniture. Theſe Circumſtances fully perſuade me, that ſome other Perſon is here repreſented; the

(*n*) Dr. *Stukeley*, P. 26, has theſe Words, " We are to remark, that " all our Saints here have a Croſs cut in the lower part of their " Garments." He has not made good his Remark here, his St. *Paul* not having that Croſs.

Perſon

Perſon then here figured, is (*o*) St. *Ypolyte* or *Hippolyte*, who is ſaid to have been baptized by, and to be buried by the Body of St. *Laurence*; ſo that this makes part of that Group of Figures, attending on St. *Laurence*, and bears a Connexion with the Hiſtory of that Saint. This *Hippolyte*, was tortured and ſuffered Martyrdom under the aforeſaid Emperor *Decian*.---The *Legend* gives this Account of him---" Than *Decyan*
" made hym to be beten with Staves, and all to rente
" with Combes of Yron, and he confeſſed with a clere
" Voyce, that he was Cryſten. And whan he had de-
" ſpyſed theſe Tourments, he dyde hym to be clothed
" with the Veſture of a Knight, that he tofore uſed in
" exhortynge hym than to receive his Amytee, and his
" fyrſte Chyvalrye, and *Ypolyte* ſay'd, (*p*) I am the
" Knyght of Jheſu Chryſte. And than *Decyan* re-
" plenyſhed with great Wrath, delyvered hym to *Va-*
" *leryan* the Provoſt, &c. and than *Valeryan* made
" *Ypolyte* to be bounden by the Fete unto the Neckes
" of wylde Horſes, and made hym to be drawen
" amonge Thornes, Bryeres and Roches, tyll he ren-
" dred and gave up to God his Spiryte, he deyed
" about the Yere of our Lorde CCLXVI, and than
" *Juſtyne* the Preſte toke the Body and buryed it by
" the Body of St. *Laurence*. Of this Martyr ſayth

(*o*) St. *Ypolyte*'s Day is on the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, *Breviar. Rom. Gold. Legend*, P. 203.

(*p*) This may be one Reaſon for our Saviour's, &c. Station here, as in *Table* II,----- Another may be..... In the ſame Hour (when St. *Laurence* was beten with Scorpyons) a Knyght named *Romayne*, beleved in God, and ſayde unto St. *Laurence*, I ſee tofore thee a ryght fayre Yonge-lynge ſtanding, and with a Linnen Cloth clenſynge thy Wounds.---- *Gold. Legend.*

" *Ambroſe*,

" *Ambroſe*, in his Preface, The bleſſed Martyr *Ypolyte*
" conſydered that Jheſu Cryſt was very Duke, and he
" wolde be his Knyght, and had lever be his Knyght,
" than Duke of Knyghtes, and he purſewed not
" St. *Laurence*, whiche was put under his kepynge,
" but followed hym; ſo that in ſuffrynge Martyrdome
" he left the Lawe of the Tyraunt, and came and
" poſſeded the Treſoure of very Rycheſſe, whiche is
" the Glory of the Kynge perdurable and perpetual.
" And after theſe thynges done, *Decyan* and *Valeryan*
" aſcended into a Golden Chare for to go and tour-
" mente Cryſten Men; and *Decyan* was ravyſſed of a
" Devil and cryed, O *Ypolyte* hath bounde me with
" ſharp Chaynes and ledeth me awaye; and *Valeryan*
" cryed alſo, O *Laurence* thou draweſt me with fyre
" Chaynes, and the ſame Houre *Valeryan* deyed; and
" and *Decyan* retourned home and deyed the thyrde
" Day, tourmented of the Devyl and cryed, *Laurence*
" ceſſe you a lytell, I conjure thee to ceſſe thy Tour-
" mentes and ſo deyed."

Here alſo we may obſerve again, that the Figure which our Antiquary aſcribes to the *French* King, is the Figure and Repreſentations of (*q*) *Decian* the Tyrant Emperor and Perſecutor of the aforeſaid Saints, *Sixtus*, *Laurence* and *Ypolite*; the poſture we perceive

(*q*) On the Tower of the Church of St. *Laurence* in *Norwich*, is to be ſeen the Figure of St. *Laurence*, and that of the Emperor *Decian* in a falling Poſture as here; I believe the Doctor won't ſay, that Lady *Roiſia* carved this; or, that this bears any Relation to the *French* King; which Tower was built about 1470.

that

that Emperor to be in, beſpeaks in ſome meaſure the Torture he lay under, as expreſſed by the Legend; and thus is this Group of Figures, and the Imagery here all of a Piece, and truly adjuſted; free from thoſe wild Chimerical Accounts introduced by our Doctor, and aſcribed to his Lady *Roiſia*; as Events, Circumſtances and Incidents relating to her own Family in 1176; and Matters of Conſequence, which ſhe would be the more induced to take Notice of.

This *Ypolyte* or *Hippolyte* was held in ſuch Veneration in this *Royſton* Neighbourhood, that we find a Town a few Miles off, near to *Hitchin*, called *Hippolites*, and by Corruption at this Day, *Eppallets* or *Pallets*; the Church of this Vill, ſays a late Hiſtorian, (*r*) was dedicated to St. *Hippolyte*, from whom the Vill received its Name; he was a good Tamer of Colts, an excellent Horſe-leach, and ſo devoutly honoured for theſe Qualities after his Death, that all Paſſengers that paſſed that way on Horſe-back, thought themſelves bound to bring their Steeds to the High-Altar in this Church, where this holy Horſeman was ſhrined, and a Prieſt continually attended to beſtow ſuch Fragments of *Hippolyte*'s Miracles upon their untamed Colts and old wanton and forworn Jades, as he had in Store; and did avail ſo much the more or leſs, as the Paſſengers were bountiful or hard handed; but he that was niggardly of his Coin, had but a cold and counterfeit Cure. The Horſes were brought out of the *North-Street* thro' the *North-Gate*, and the *North-Door* of

(*r*) *Chauncey*'s *Hiſt.* of *Hertfordſ.* P. 398.

the

the Church, which was boarded on purpoſe to bring up the Horſes to the Altar, ſince which time the Church has always been boarded.

After this, it may perhaps ſeem a matter of Surprize to ſome Perſons, to perceive the Doctor's great Skill and Judgment in knowing the Scull of his Lady *Roiſia*, (*s*) tho' broken into ſeveral Pieces; and his not being able to diſtinguiſh between St. *Paul*, and St. *Ypolyte*; not knowing an Apoſtle, from a Jockey, or an Horſe-leach, as Sir *Henry Chanceys*, has it.

But there remains ſtill one Figure to account for, the Woman that we ſee at the Foot of this Croſs or defaced Crucifix, (*t*) " To the right of St. *Laurence* " (ſays our Antiquary) and the *French* King, is a " defaced Figure, ſeeming to have been a Crucifix, " underneath it a Female Figure perfect, perhaps the " Female Figure underneath it is Lady *Roiſia*."

## REMARKS.

The Lady *Roiſia* is ſo often brought on the Stage, that ſhe is a CRAMBE, more than BIS REPETITA; I had much rather believe it to be the Figure of *Concordia*. When *Valerian* had a Commiſſion from *Decyan* the Emperor to perſecute St. *Ypolyte*, " He found " (ſays the (*u*) *Legend*) that all the Meyne of *Ypo-* " *lyte*'s Houſe were Cryſten, and all were brought to " fore hym. And whan he wolde have conſtrayned

(*s*) P. 8. (*t*) P. 40. (*u*) *Gold. Legend*, P. 203.

" them to do Sacrefyce, one named St. *Concordia* (*x*)
" Nouryce of *Ypolyte* anſwered for them all, we had
" lever deye with oure Lorde chaſtely, than lyve
" ſynfully. And than *Decyan* beynge preſente com-
" maunded that ſhe ſholde be beten with Plommets
" of Lead, unto the tyme that ſhe gave over her
" Spyryte. And *Ypolyte* ſayd, Syr, I thanke the, that
" thou haſte ſente my Nouryce to fore the Syght of
" thy Sayntes." ---- Or it may ſet forth the Figure of *Tryphonye*, the Emperor *Decyan*'s Wife, which as the ſaid *Legend* ſhews, ---- " was moche cruell, and whan
" ſhe ſawe this thynge (*viz.* the Torture and Death of
" her Husband (*y*) *Decyan*) ſhe left all, and toke
" *Cyrille* her Daughter, and wente to Saint *Juſtyne*,
" and was baptyſed with many other, and that other
" Daye after that as *Tryphone* prayed, ſhe gave up her
" Spyrite and deyed; and *Juſtyne* the Preſte, buryed
" her Body by St. *Ypolyte*. And than XLVII Knyghtes
" herynge, that the Quene and her Daughter were
" becomen Cryſten, came with theyr Wyves to *Juſtyne*
" the Preſte, for to receyve Baptiſme. *Claudius* the
" Emperor, when *Cyrille* wolde not do Sacrifyce dyde
" do cutte her Throat, and dyd do byhede the other
" Knyghtes, and the Bodyes were borne with the
" other into the Felde *Verane*, and there buried." ---
Here give me leave to obſerve, that thoſe Figures above, as in *Table* II. in Battle-Array, as an Army; and which the Doctor would have us Believe, to be the two Armies of the King of *France* and of (*z*) *England*;

(*x*) That is Nurſe of *Ypolyte*, ſee *Ypolyte*'s Life in the *Golden Legend*, P. 203. (*y*) *Gold. Leg.* P. 203. (*z*) P. 38.

may

may perhaps repreſent theſe Knights thus martyred, or that great and noble Army or Company of Martyrs; which all Church Hiſtory teaches us, fell by the Hand of *Decyan*. (*a*) " He began ryght cruelly to perſecute " the Chirche and Cryſten Men, and commaunded " that they ſholde be deſtroyed without Mercy; and " many thouſandes Martyrs were ſlayn." And that it repreſents an Army of Saints, a Spiritual and not a Temporal Army, appears from that great Arch or Cavity in the Wall under them, made on purpoſe to place Lamps and Lights in, to burn before them. At the end of *Table* II. and alſo in the Beginning of *Table* III, may be obſerved a Croſs, and of this he gives us the following Account.

(*b*) " St. *Chriſtopher* went into *Lucia* in *Aſia Minor*, " to preach the Goſpel; once on a time, before a great " Aſſembly of People there, he ſtuck his Staff into " the Ground; it took Root immediately, produced " Leaves, Flowers and Fruit, in Token of the Truth " of his Doctrine, which much furthered their Con- " verſion. On the Right-hand of the afore-mentioned " Figure of St. *Katharin* in our Oratory, we ſee this " croſs-like Staff of St. *Chriſtopher*, cut by Lady *Roiſia*, " thus amuſing herſelf on his Anniverſary 25 *July*, " when reading the Legends of his Life; we ſee it

(*a*) *Gold. Leg.* P. 1986. This *Decyan*, or *Decius* the Emperor, raiſed the Seventh Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, as Church Hiſtory teſtifies; *Nicephorus* ſays, that the Number of Martyrs, in his Time, could not be reckoned, no more than the Sands of the Sea ----- *L.* 5. *C.* 29.

(*b*) P. 37.

" likewiſe in *Table* II, to ſhew the Continuity of the " Sculptures. "

## REMARKS.

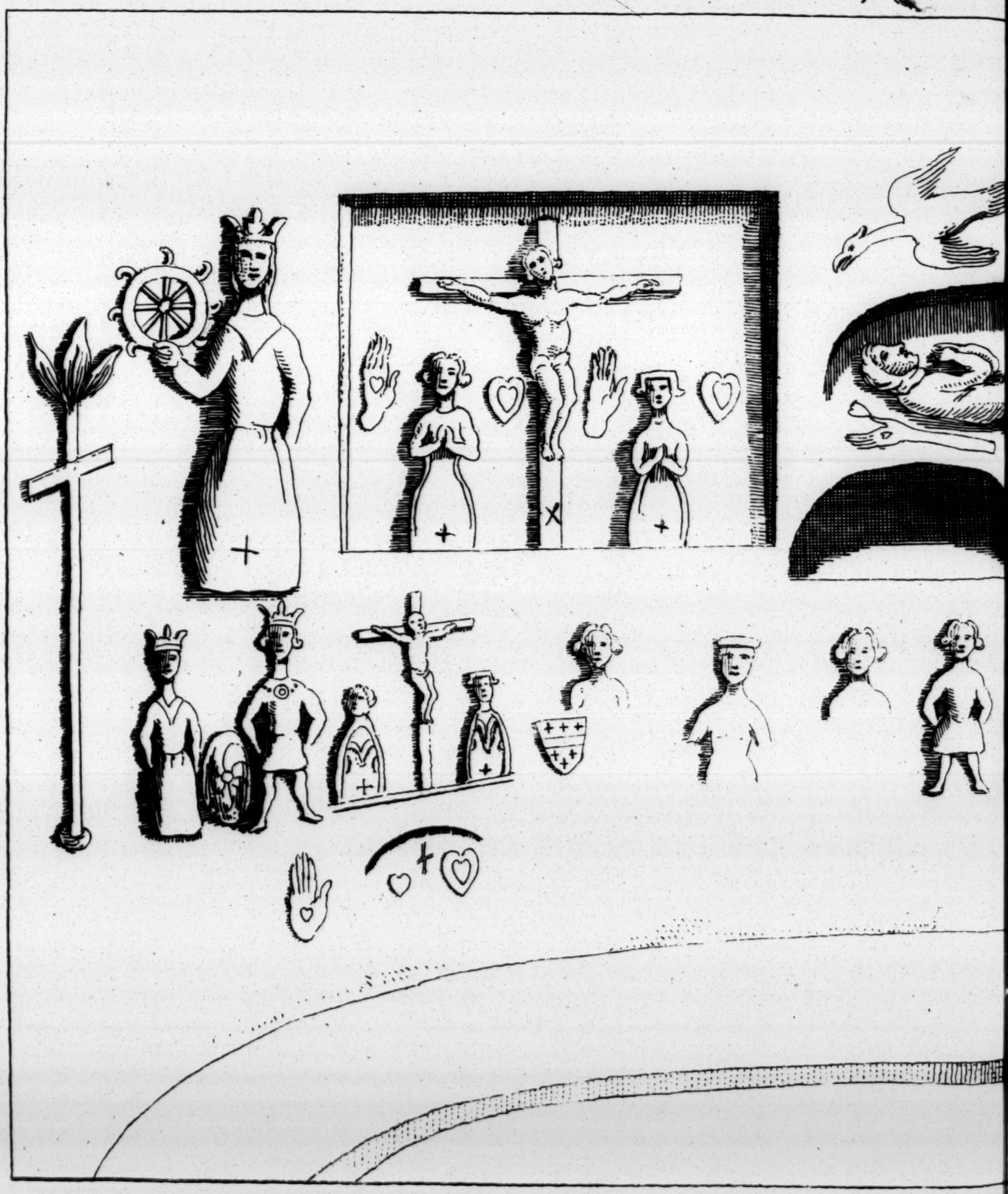
The Account that we have of St. *Chriſtopher*'s Staff being turned into a Croſs, I ſhall here juſt mention, referring my Reader to my Remarks on *Table* III.

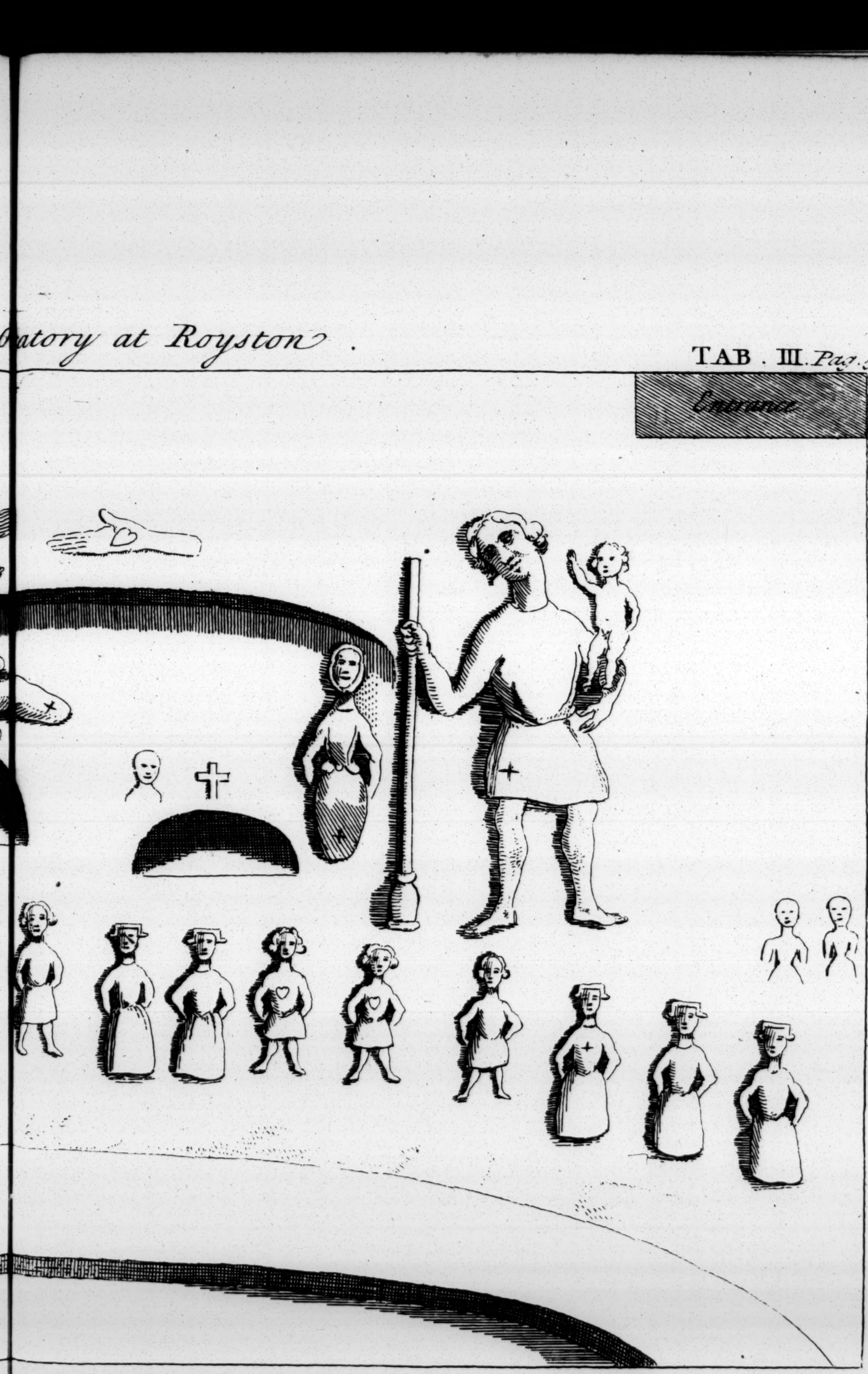
When St. *Chriſtopher* had ſet our Saviour down, having carried him over a River, and complained to him, that he weighed almoſt as if he had all the World upon him; Chriſt replyed to St. *Chriſtopher*, (*c*)
" Marveyell thou no thynge, for thou haſt not onely
" borne all the Worlde upon thee, but thou haſt borne
" hym that created and made all the Worlde upon
" thy Sholders. I am Jheſu Cryſt the Kynge; and
" bycauſe that thou gnowe that I ſay to the Trouthe,
" ſet thy Staffe in the Erth by thy Hous, and thou
" ſhalt ſee to morrowe that it ſhall bere Floures and
" Fruyte. And *Chryſtophore* ſet his Staffe in the
" Erthe, and whan he aroſe in the Morne he founde
" his Staffe lyke a Palmyer berynge Floures, Leves
" and Dates. " ----- This therefore is what is called a Palmers-Croſs, which we find mentioned often in old Hiſtory, and ſtands here as an Altar to St. *Hyppolyte*, the principal Image; and it is highly probable, ſuch a Croſs was before the Image of *Hyppolyte* in the Church of *Hippolytes*, and the ſame *Apparatus* as here, with him. So that the true Station of this Croſs or Altar,

(*c*) See *Table* II, and III.

is

The West side of the C




Entrance

is in *Table* II; and it is quite prepoſterous, and to confound things to place it in *Table* III. by the Image of St. *Katharine*; the Sculptures being eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed, and to be known by the Walls, *South* and *Weſt*, on which they are delineated.

The laſt thing obſervable in *Table* II, is the two ſepulchral Stones with Figures cut on them on the circular Bench or Aſcent, " This perhaps (ſays our *(d)* Author) " our pious Lady cut, as a Memorandum of a Monument " of her Father and Mother; which afforded Matter for " her Contemplation, on the Days of their *Obit*. "

I have already obſerved, that it was the Practice and Cuſtom of Hermits to admit Men and Women to be buried in their Oratories, as Monks and Canons did in their Conventual Churches; ſo that our Author's Aſſertion, that this is in Remembrance of *Roiſia*'s Parents (till it is better proved) muſt be looked upon as a mere Conjecture, a Fancy that has nothing to ſupport itſelf with.

" TABLE III. M.C.LXXVII.

The firſt Piece of Imagery that offers itſelf here, is the Altar of St. *Katharine*----- " Toward the chief " Crucifix, ſays the Doctor, *(e)* which is as it were " the High-Altar of our Chapel, is cut the Figure of " St. *Katharin* of *Alexandria*, with a Wheel, the In- " ſtrument of her Paſſion in her Hand. She has a

*(d)* P. 40.

*(e)* P. 33, &c.

" Crown

" Crown on her Head, as being of the Blood Royal
" of *Egypt*; we are told in the Legends of her Life,
" that this eminent Virgin and Martyr was impri-
" ſoned for twelve Days, no Perſon permitted to
" come near her, even to bring her any Suſtenance,
" but that a Dove miraculouſly adminiſtred to her,
" and brought her all Neceſſaries. This is cut on
" the left Side of the Tablet of the Crucifix; there
" is a Cavity ſunk into the Wall, which is to repre-
" ſent a Priſon; in one end of it, the Virgin ſits in
" a diſconſolate Poſture; in the other end ſhe is re-
" preſented as lying with a Croſs marked on her
" Garment; underneath her is a Hand ſtretched out
" and a Heart, meaning her Zeal for Religion, and
" the Protection of Providence, ſhewn toward her.
" The like above, and the Dove hovering over her,
" as mentioned in the Legends. There is a very
" intereſting Reaſon, why Lady *Roiſia* cut theſe Fi-
" gures of St. *Katharin* here, which belongs to the
" Year 1177; the Story is thus told in *Benedict Ab-*
" *bas*, Page 160. *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* and *Wil-*
" *liam de Magnavile* Earl of *Eſſex* her Son, took
" upon themſelves the Croſſes of the *Jeruſalem* Pil-
" grimage, in 1176; the Year following, after *Eaſter*,
" they with many Barons and Knights went on the
" Pilgrimage. When they came to *Jeruſalem*, aſſo-
" ciating to themſelves the Brethren of the Temple,
" and Knights Hoſpitallers, and *Raymond* Prince of
" *Antioch*, and in a manner the whole Militia of the
" Holy Land, they beſieged a certain Caſtle belong-
" ing to the *Pagans*, which was called *Harangh*.

" When

" When this was told to *Saladin* the Sultan of *Ba-*
" *bylon*, he gathering together the Kings, Princes
" under him, and more than 500,000 Horſe and
" Foot, entred upon the Territory of the Chriſtians,
" and fixed his Tents not far from the Holy City
" of *Jeruſalem*. The Knights Templars and Hoſpi-
" tallers and Soldiery of the King of *Jeruſalem*, who
" ſtaid there to guard the City, advanced againſt the
" *Pagans*, the Biſhop of *Bethlehem* carrying the Holy
" Croſs before them. The Chriſtians were not above
" 20,000 fighting Men, yet by the Power of the
" Almighty, they obtained the Victory; this happened
" 1177, in the Plains of *Ramah*, on the Day of
" St. *Katharin*, Virgin and Martyr, 25 *November*."

## REMARKS.

The great Crucifix above-mentioned with the Figures of the Virgin *Mary*, and St. *John* the *Evangeliſt*, on each ſide of it, appears (as it is alſo larger than the reſt) to be the Chief or High-Altar of this Oratory. Such an *Apparatus*, a Crucifix, with a *John* and a *Mary*, as the common People called them, was in the time of Popery required and enjoined to be in every Cathedral and Pariſh Church in *England*, and was uſually placed in a Gallery erected between the Nave or Body of the Church, and the Choir or Chancel, over the Screen that divides them. It was called the Rood-Loft, from a great *(f)* Rood or Image of our Saviour

*(f)* Thus *Holy Rood-Day*, and *Rood-Lane* in *London* famous for the making of them.

on

on the Croſs, made generally of Wood and painted, and ſet up between the Images of the Virgin and St. *John*. Here was alſo an *Antependium*, or Curtain let down before them, when Service was over, but in time of Service, they were lighted up with Lamps and Wax Tapers, and the Altar under it was called the Altar of the Crucifix.---In thoſe Days, weak People were fond of being buried as near as poſſible to this Place, as appears from the Wills of many Perſons, and from the great Number of Grave-Stones, which may be obſerved in moſt Churches to be here crowded together. *Chaucer*'s good Wife of *Bath*, mentions this in her Prologue, ſpeaking of her fourth Husband----

*He died when I came frô Hieruſalem,*
*And lieth in Grave under the Rood-Beem.*

----Some of theſe were thought to have more Virtue and Eminency in them than others; *Fox (g)* has given us ſeveral Inſtances of this, eſpecially in that of the Rood of Grace, which in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, was expoſed by the Lord *Cromwell*, at St. *Paul*'s Croſs in *London*, and there torn in Pieces by the Populace. No wonder then is it to find here ſuch a Crucifix, decorated as was enjoined to be in all Churches.---On the Right-hand of this Crucifix or Altar ſtands the Figure of St. *Katharine*, to whom it is reaſonable to conclude this Oratory or Chapel was dedicated; this is what was called the *Imago Principalis*, in reſpect of ſeveral other leſs, inferior Altars, &c. ſet up in

(g) *Acts* and *Monum.* V. 2. P. 250, and 431; V. 3. P. 83.

Churches,

Churches, &c. and as we ſee here. *Robert de* (*h*) *Winchelſea*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Metropolitical Viſitation about the Year 1300, made an Order or Decree, confirmed by his Succeſſor *Walter Reynolds*, by which the Pariſhioners throughout all the Archdeaconries of his Province were appointed to ſee that the Image of that Saint, to whoſe Memory the Church, Chapel, &c. was dedicated, ſhould be erected, or ſet up in the Chancel of every Pariſh Church; and in another of the Conſtitutions of the ſaid Archbiſhop *Robert*, amongſt the Church Furniture to be provided at the Charge of the Pariſh, the *Imago Principalis* is One; *Scilicet Illius Sancti ad cujus honorem Eccleſia conſecrata eſt*; that is---- The Image of that Saint to whoſe Honour the Church is dedicated. And there appears a far more antient Proviſion for this in the Council or Synod of *Celichyth* held in 816----*Præcipimus etiam unicuique Epiſcopo, ut habeat* (*i*) *depictum in pariete Oratorij, aut in tabulâ, vel etiam in Altaribus, quibus Sanctis, ſit utraque Dedicata.* Our Author calls this the High-Altar of the Oratory, yet tells us that Lady *Roiſia* cut this in 1177, I appeal it to every candid Reader to determine, whether it is reaſonable to think the Inferior Altars can be ſaid, or ſuppoſed, to be before the chief or High-Altar; yet our learned Doctor has aſſerted this, in ſaying that the Altar of St. *Laurence* was (*k*) made in 1173, and that of St. *Paul*

(*h*) *Linwood*'s *Provinc. Oxon.* Fol. 203.
(*i*) *Spelm. Concil.* V. 1. P. 328. (*k*) P. 28, and P. 31, &c.

(or *Hippolyte*) in 1176; if this is not an ὑστερον, πρότερον, I know not what to ſtile it.

And that the Cavity (on the left Side of this Crucifix or Altar) ſunk into the Wall, is to repreſent the Priſon of St. *Katherine* will appear alſo to be a great Miſtake---- This is to ſet forth another Piece of Furniture, in Churches, in old Times; and that is the Sepulchre of our Lord; the Remains of ſuch Sepulchres may be obſerved by any curious Perſon in ſeveral old Churches even at this Day. Theſe Sepulchres being in Similitude of our Saviour's Tomb in the Rock, they were always erected near to the High-Altar, as here, and generally on the *North-Eaſt* ſide of the Chancel, by the Altar. Thus *Thomas Fiennes* (*l*) Lord *Dacres*, by his Will bearing Date, *September* 1, 1531, bequeathed his Body to be buried in the Pariſh Church of *Herſt. Monceaux* in *Suſſex*, on the *North* ſide of the High-Altar, appointing that a Tomb ſhould be made for placing there the Sepulchre of our Lord; and Sir *Henry Colet* Wills, if he dies at *Stebunhith* to be buried at (*m*) *Sepulchre*, before St. *Dunſtan* in the ſaid Church; and his Monument is to be ſeen at this Day, at the *North-Eaſt* end of the Chancel of the ſaid Church of *Stepney* near *London*, which Church is dedicated to St. *Dunſtan*, ſo that here is a Proof both of the Station of the *Imago Principalis*, and of the Sepulchre of our Lord. Great

(*l*) *Dugd. Baron.* V. 2. P. 244.
(*m*) Doctor *Knight*'s Life of Dean *Colet*. P. 7, and *Miſcellan.* P. 462.

Wax

Wax Lights were generally burning at this Sepulchre, and here we may perceive two Arches, or Nich-like Cavities (as the Doctor himſelf obſerves) cut in the Wall, which were made to ſet Lamps in, as we may well ſuppoſe, ſays he, on her (St. *Katharine*'s) Anniverſary, *November* 25; whereas they were to light up the Sepulchre, and thus we find the biggeſt Nitch to be at the Head of the Sepulchre, and near to the Body of our Lord, whoſe Figure, I ſhall ſhew that to be, lying on his Back. *John Wethamſtede* Abbot of St. *Alban*'s, appointed twelve Wax Lights to burn about the Sepulchre of our Lord, there, and gave Money (as many in that Age did) to ſupport them for ever: Great Pomp and Pageantry in thoſe Days of Darkneſs were uſed in all Churches at this Sepulchre on *Eaſter-Day*; when the Crucifix was taken out of this Sepulchre (in which it was depoſited in a ſolemn manner on *Good-Friday*) by the Prieſt, on the ſaying of this part of the Office of the Day---- *Surrexit*, *non eſt hic*---- The Figure then lying on his Back, is not the Figure of St. *Katharine*, but that of our Saviour in his Shroud, as dead in his Sepulchre, and no Wonder is it to ſee the Dove hovering over him, a Proof of the Deity; and this is ſtill further confirmed by the Heart and Hands with Hearts on them, as the Doctor calls them, and to be ſeen in the Tablet or Altar of St. *Katharine*.

In many Antient Churches and Religious Places, this Coat-Armour may be obſerved---- Gules, an Heart between a Dexter and a Siniſter Hand, and a Dexter

and a Sinister Foot couped and pierced, Saltireways, Argent. This is called by the *Romanists* the Shield of the Five-Wounds, the Hands therefore and the Feet pierced are to represent the Wounds made by the Nails, by which our Lord was fastened to the Cross, as the Heart pierced is to represent the Wound made by the Spear that pierced his Side. The Church of *Rome* has a solemn Mass, called the Office of the *Quinque Vulnera*, or the Five-Wounds, and observes also on the seventeenth of *September* the Festival (*n*) of the Five-Wounds of St. *Francis*, commemorating that Impression which our Saviour (as they will have it) made on St. *Francis*'s Hands, Feet and Side, the Prints of his own most Sacred Wounds. This Festival being appointed to be observed about the Year 1400, is as an *Æra*, and shews that this part of the Imagery could not be carved 'till after the Death of *Roisia*. St. (*o*) *Francis* flourished and founded his Order of *Franciscan* Monks about the Year 1200, and the Order was not confirmed by the Pope 'till the Year 1207, about twenty Years after the Death of *Roisia*. Of a like Error I take our Antiquary to be guilty in Relation to the Woman, that sits at one end of the Sepulchre, " the Virgin *Katherine*, as he says in a dis-
" consolate Posture at the end of the Prison. This
" Woman, as I take it, as well as that other Woman

(*n*) *Septemb.* 17, *Offic. Impression. S. S. Stigmatum in Corpore beati Francisci, Duplex* ---- Pope *Benedict* who came to the Chair 1394, ordained this Office. See *Breviar. Rom.* P. 978, &c. *Helvici. Chronolog.* P. 138.

(*o*) *Matt. Paris.* 340, &c. St. *Francis* was canoniz'd in 1229, his Day is kept on the fourth of *October*, Calendar Roman.

" (whose

" (whoſe Head only is now apparent, and of whom
" he has *Ne unum Verbum quidem)* are Repreſenta-
" tions of St. *Mary Magdalene*, and the other *Mary*,
" ſitting againſt the Sepulchre, as we read in St. *Mat-*
" *thew*, ch. xxvii. ver. 61."

And now give me leave to appeal to every candid Reader, and ask him, what he thinks of the very INTERESTING REASON, that our Antiquary ſays there was, why Lady *Roiſia* cut theſe Figures of St. *Katharine* here in 1177. Let any one read the Story told, and the Hiſtory applyed by him, and give me his Sentiments of this Principal Part of the Imagery; he might methinks, with equal Truth and Juſtice, and as good a Grace, when he was on theſe *Cruſade* Expeditions, have ſtopped ſhort of *Jeruſalem*, and told us, it was the EPHESIAN-MATRON.

## A. D. M. C. LXXXV.

The next Figure in *Table* III. to be conſidered is that of St. *Chriſtopher (p)* ---- " He is repreſented,
" (ſays our Author) with our Saviour an Infant on
" his Shoulder, and a great Staff in his Hand; he is
" reported in the Legends of his Life to be of a huge
" bulk of Body and Strength, and here carved larger
" than the other Figures; it is ſaid in the Hiſtory of
" his Life, that conſidering his great Stature and
" Strength, and how he might beſt ſerve God, and
" be uſeful to Mankind, he built himſelf a Cell by

(p) P. 35.

" a

" a River's Side, where was neither Bridge nor Boat,
" and there employed himſelf in carrying over all
" Paſſengers; this Saint was thought to have a ſpecial
" Privilege in preventing Tempeſts and Earthquakes,
" for which Reaſon we ſee him ſo often painted in
" Churches of old. Whether or no Lady *Roiſia* paid
" this regard to St. *Chriſtopher* on Account of his
" manner of Life, ſomewhat reſembling that ſhe had
" devoted herſelf to, we cannot affirm, but the main
" Reaſon why ſhe formed his Picture here, I aſcribe
" to that Event which our Hiſtorians recite in the
" Year 1185, for then happened a moſt terrible and
" remarkable Earthquake in all *England* in the Month
" of *March*, ſuch a one as never was known before,
" many Houſes thrown down, even ſuch as were
" built with Stone, a thing not very common; then
" *Lincoln* Cathedral ſplit from top to bottom, the firſt
" of *May* following an Eclipſe of the Sun, ſoon after
" great Thundering, Lightning, and Tempeſts, many
" Men and Cattle deſtroyed, many Houſes burnt.----
" *Benedict Abbot*, P. 436, *&c.*"

## REMARKS.

About the *North-Weſt* end of the Church, was the Place or Station of St. *Chriſtopher*, and here we meet with him in our Oratory, and thus in the old Record mentioned by our Author---- " The King to
" the Sheriff of *Hampſhire* greeting, We command
" you, that out of the Rents iſſuing from your County,
" you cauſe to be painted in the Queen's Chapel at
" *Wincheſter*

" *Wincheſter* upon the Gable toward the *Weſt*, the " Image of St. *Chriſtopher*, who holds in his Arm as " uſual our Bleſſed Saviour, and the Coſt which you " lay out on this Work ſhall be accounted for in our " Exchequer, Witneſs the King, &c." And very lately was diſcovered on the *North-Weſt* Corner of the Church of *Terſfield* in *Norfolk*, by the Gable end, a very large painted *Chriſtopher*, over the *North-Door* there, (*q*) paſſing thro' Water or a River with ſeveral Fiſh about his Feet.

Another Reaſon of St. *Chriſtopher*'s Station here is, that he was an Hermit, his firſt entering on that Life was owing to an Hermit (*r*) " And whan he hadde " longe ſought and demaunded where he ſhould fynde " Jeſu Cryſt, at the laſt he came to a Deſarte to an " Heremyte that dwelled there, and this Heremyte " preched to him of Jeſu Cryſt and enformed him " in the Fayth dylygently, and ſayd to him; this " Kynge whom thou deſyreſt to ſerve requyreth the " ſervyce that thou muſt oft faſt. And *Chriſtopher* " ſayd to him, requyre of me ſome thynge, and I " ſhall do it for that which thou requyreſt I may not " do. And the Heremyte ſayd, thou muſt than wake, " and make many Prayers, and *Cryſtofore* ſayd to " him. I wote not, what it is, I may do no ſuche " thynge, and than the Heremyte ſayd to hym,

(*q*) St. *Chryſtopher* is placed over the *North-Door* becauſe Children to be baptized were uſually brought in at it, in Alluſſon to the Water in Baptiſm, which brings Salvation and Safety to Infants, as this Saint did to all he carried over the Water---- *Blomefield*'s *Hiſt. Norff.* V. 2. P. 657.

(*r*) *Gold. Legend.* P. 176.

" knoweſt

" knoweſt thou ſuch a Ryver, in which many may
" be peryſhed and loſt to whom *Chriſtofore* ſayd I
" knowe it well. Than ſay'd the Heremyte bycauſe
" thou art noble and hye of Stature and ſtrong in thy
" Members, thou ſhalt be reſydent by the Ryver, and
" thou ſhall bear over all theym that ſhall paſſe there,
" whiche ſhall be a thynge ryght convenable to our
" Lorde Jheſu Cryſt whom thou deſyreſt to ſerve.
" Thenne ſayd *Chryſtofore* certes this ſervyce may I
" well do, than went he to his Ryver, and made there
" his Habytacle for hym, &c."

Thus we ſee that as St. *Chriſtopher* was an Hermit himſelf and had an Hermit for his Guide and Præceptor, he muſt be allowed to be a proper Figure, a Piece of Furniture highly juſt in this Place, the Oratory of a Brother Hermit, ſo that our Antiquary had no need of putting his Invention on the Rack to ſearch for Events ſo foreign, to bring in Earthquakes, Eclipſes, Thunder and Lightning, Tempeſts, ſplitting of *Lincoln* Cathedral, &c. and to aſcribe this to be the main Cauſe why Lady *Roiſia* formed this in 1185.

*Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus Vindici Nodus,*
*Inciderit.*

The next thing obſervable is what our Author (*s*) calls the lower Tablet of the Crucifix, under the chief Crucifix of the Oratory---- " Under St. *Katharin*, is
" the Image of a King and a Queen, on the left a

(*s*) P. 40.

" great

" great Number of Figures Male and Female, ex-
" tending themſelves all along the *North* ſide of the
" Oratory under St. *Chriſtopher*, &c. there can be
" no manner of Doubt, that the King and Queen
" preſents us, with the Effigies of *Henry* II. and his
" Queen *Eleanor*; theſe Figures ſeem to be cut with
" ſomewhat more Delicacy, than the reſt. The
" Queen's dreſs over her Neck is more nicely deſigned,
" and the King has manifeſtly a great Collar round
" his Neck with a great Jewel hanging before upon
" his Breaſt, he leans his Right-hand upon a Shield,
" indicating his Warlike Diſpoſition. Theſe Royal
" Pictures ſhe (*Roiſia*) made as well on Account of the
" Perſonal Qualities of that Prince, of great Wiſdom,
" Juſtice, Piety, Magnificent, Valorous, as that he
" and his Mother the Empreſs *Maud*, and Grand-
" father *Henry* I. and Great Grandfather the Con-
" queror had been Patrons and Benefactors to her
" Father's, and to both her Husbands Families, like-
" wiſe her Son *Magnavile* and Couſin *Hugh de Beau-*
" *champ* were all this time employed in his Wars.
" The leſſer Crucifix means an Altar, the Figures of
" St. *John* and the Virgin as before, &c."

## REMARKS.

The Situation of this Altar is ſomewhat particular, juſt below the great or High-Altar of St. *Katharine* and, as I take it, is alſo dedicated to the ſame Saint, and was as an Altar of the Benefactors to this Cell and Oratory; about which we ſee ſo many ſtanding, where they were commemorated, and prayed for. Our

Antiquary has a long detail of the Perſonal Virtues of King *Henry* II. and his Queen, whom he will have to be here repreſented; Hiſtorians, that I have conſulted, ſet forth that King in a different Light. His ill Treatment of the Clergy, their Favourite St. *Thomas*, the invading the Privileges of Mother Church, his keeping Fair *Roſamond*, his publick blaſphemous Speech on the taking the City of *Mentz*, " I ſhall " never love God any more, that hath ſuffered a City " ſo dear to Me, to be taken from Me"---- which is pointed out as the Cauſe of his Death, and a long ſuch like, &c. could have but ſmall Influence on any Religious Perſon or Recluſe to commemorate this Monarch. And as to his Queen *Eleanor*, ſhe is charged with ſiding and taking part with her Sons in Rebellion againſt him, and was committed to Priſon for her Male-Practices.----Is it reaſonable then to think that *Henry* II. who as an old (*t*) Hiſtorian juſtly obſerves, was forſaken of his Friends, forſaken of his Wife, forſaken of his Children, forſaken of himſelf, could merit this Station? We muſt therefore look out for ſome other Royal Perſonages, and here give me leave to ſay, that they ſeem to repreſent either King *Edward* III. and his Queen, or, rather King *Henry* V. and his Queen *Katharine*. Our Antiquary has in ſome meaſure pointed this out, the King (ſays he) has manifeſtly a great Collar round his Neck with a great Jewel hanging before upon his Breaſt. What great Jewel is this, but that of St. *George?* What great Collar can this be, but the Collar of that Noble Order? An Order not founded before the Reign of *Edward* III.

(*t*) *Baker's Chron.* P. 55.

----He

----He leans his Right-hand upon a Shield, indicating his Warlike Diſpoſition; who proved that more, than *Edward* III, or *Henry* V? As to the Dreſs of the Queen it is ſuch as becomes the Conſort of a Monarch.

The next Figure to be conſidered, is that marked N° I. (*u*) " Next to this leſſer Crucifix is manifeſtly a " Shield or Coat-Armorial, the Feſs on it is very plain, " high raiſed, and the other Marks or Sketches ſo like " to Croſs-Croſslets, that we cannot (ſays our Author) " help ſuppoſing it to be the Arms of the *Beauchamps*, " *&c.* Gules, a Feſs between ſix Croſs-Croſslets, Or."

## REMARKS.

How the Doctor has here contradicted himſelf in aſcribing theſe Arms to *Hugh de Beauchamp* who lived in the Conqueror's time, and yet maintaining that taking up of Coat-Armour, and the Croſſes particularly began, in the time of the *Cruſade* under *Henry* II. I have already ſhewn where I have alſo proved that *William de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, who died 1298, was the firſt, that bore that Arms, ſo that *Roiſia* could not poſſiby have any part in the cutting of it.

But our Author obſerves (*w*) " That the *Bedford-* " *ſhire* Branch of the *Beauchamps*, to which *Roiſia* " belongs, as Wife to *Payn de Beauchamp*, Baron of " *Bedford*, *&c.* lived at the *Hoff* in *Bletneſhoe* or " *Bletſoe* near *Bedford*, where the Lord St. *John* now " dwells, who is deſcended from them, as well as

(*u*) P. 41, *&c.* (*w*) P. 20, 21.

" the *Seymour-Beauchamps*, and *Pierceys* of the Duke " of *Somerſet*'s Family."

## REMARKS.

Here will appear to be a Complication of Errors, that the *Beauchamps* branched out into many Noble Families is well known, and each particular Branch had its proper, particular Arms.---- The *Beauchamps* of *Warwick*, who derive their Stem from *Walter de Bello Campo* (in the Reign of *Henry* I.) Lord *Elmeley*, which *Walter* bore Gules a Feſs Or, this *Warwick*-Family took up Gules, a Feſs between ſix Croſs-Croſslets, Or.---- The *Beauchamps* of *Bedford*, as far as I can find, bore---- Quarterly, Or and Gules over all a Bendlet Sable.---- *John Beauchamp* Lord *Bletſoe* died as *Dugdale* informs (*x*) us in the fourteenth of *Henry* IV. and left *John* his Son, who dying a Minor, *Margaret* his Siſter and Heir was married to Sir *Oliver* St. *John*, Knight, who quartered *Humfrevile*, *Delabere*, *Paveley*, *Foliot*, and *Beauchamp*, but *Beauchamp* here is---- Gules, a Feſs between ſix Martlets Or, which are the Arms alſo of the *Beauchamps*, Lord of St. *Amond*, and of *Powick*. But let us next conſider the *Seymour-Beauchamp*, as quartered by the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that is---- Vairy, Argent and Azure; the Arms of *Beauchamp* Lord *Hacche*, part of the ſaid Duke's Title; and the *Piercys* Earls of *Northumberland* quartered the *Warwick* Arms. Theſe things are trite, and if our Author had conſulted the modern Peerage, the *Britiſh Compendium*, &c. he would have been

(*x*) *Dugd. Baron.* V. 2. P. 252.

better

better instructed. But to turn to *Figure* I. the Person here represented is (as I conceive) the Great and Noble *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, in the Reign of King *Henry* V; that he had a Title to be here figured, the Pedigree here will shew, as the Lordship of

*Geffery de Magnavile*, = *Adeliza*,
*Eudo Dapifer* = *Roisia*.

*William de Magnavile*, = *Margaret*, Daughter and Heir to *Eudo Dapifer*.

*Geffery de Magnavile*, first Earl of *Essex*, ob. 1144. = *Roisia*, Daughter of *Alb. de Vere*, her second Husband was *Payn de Beauchamp*.

*Beatrix*, Daughter of *William de Magnavile*, and Sister to *Geffery* the first Earl of *Essex*. = *William de Say*.

*William de Say*. =

*Beatrix*, Daughter and Heir of *William de Say*. = *Geffery Fitz-Piers*, Earl of *Essex*, in the Reign of King *John*. = *Avelyn*.

*John Fitz-Geffery*, Lord of *Berkhampsted Hertfordshire*. = *Isabell*, Sister of *Ralph Bigot* --- *Brook*'s Heraldry, *P.* 153.

*Richard Fitz-John*. =

*Maud*, Daughter of *Richard*, &c. = *William Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, ob. 26 *Edward* I.

*Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl, &c. = *Alice*, Daughter of *Robert de Tony*.

*Thomas de Beauchamp*, Earl, ob. 43 *Edward* III. = *Katharine*, Daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*.

2 *Thomas de Beauchamp*, Earl, ob. 2 *Henry* IV. = *Margaret*, Daughter of *William* Lord *Ferres* of *Groby*.

*Richard de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, ob. 17 *Henry* VI.

1. *Guy*, died without Issue Male, and before his Father.

2. *William Fitz-Piers*, Earl of *Essex*, ob. f. p.

1. *Geffery Fitz-Piers*, alias *Mandeville*, Earl of *Essex*, ob. f. p.

2. *Richard Fitz-John*, a Baron 23 *Edward* I. --- ob. f. p.

1. *John Fitz-John*, died, f. p. 4 *Edward* I.

*Newcells*

*Newcells* (in which Lordſhip, the Cell, and Oratory was) ſeems to be held by him of the King, *in Capite*, and deſcended to him as Heir to *Geffery Fitz-Piers* Earl of *Eſſex*, which *Geffery*, by the Marriage of *Beatrix* Daughter and Heir of *William de Say*, had in her right the Eſtate of *Eudo Dapifer*, and the *Magnaviles*, as their direct and
+ immediate Heir. And it was a Practice (*y*) in antient Days, that they who were either Lords of the Manor, Patron of the Church, or Benefactors thereto, or held any Fees or Lands of Inheritance within the Pariſh, did uſually ſet up their Coat-Armour, and ſometimes their Pictures (drawn as near to the Life as they could) in the Windows. It was alſo uſual for thoſe who held under any Lord to do the ſame, out of Reſpect and Honour to him, as a Dependent on him; and as there were no Windows here to commemorate them in, we ſee Figures cut out of the Chalk. And thus we may Account for not only the *Figure* N° I. of *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, but that alſo of King *Henry* V. who was Lord of this Hundred, which deſcended to him on the Death of his Brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, in the ninth Year of his Reign, which proves at the ſame time the Age of this Piece of Imagery. This Earl *Richard* was the (*z*) greateſt Hero of the Age he lived in, ſo eminent for his Wiſdom, Nurture and Manhood, that he was ſtiled by foreign Princes;---- *The Father of Courteſie*. He it was, who was ſent Embaſſador to the *French* King to demand the Lady *Katharine* his Daughter, in Marriage for his Maſter

(*y*) *Burton*'s *Hiſt.* of *Leiceſterſ.* P. 97.
(*z*) See *Dugdale*'s Account of him in his *Hiſt.* of *Warwickſ.* P. 325.

King

King *Henry* V; was appointed Tutor to King *Henry* VI, and dying *April* 30, 1439, full of Fame and Honour, was buried at *Warwick* in our Lady-Chapel, where he has a moſt magnificent Tomb.

----This Earl *Richard* was moſt likely (as Capital Lord of *Newcells)* a Benefactor to this Cell and Oratory, that the Imagery therein was carved about his time, is apparent from the Dreſs, the *Apparatus*, *&c.* of the Figures; and that both he and his Royal Maſter were great Friends to the Order of Hermits, I ſhall ſhew from good Authority. (*a*) ---- Whether, ſays Sir *William Dugdale*, it was out of Reſpect to the Memory of the famous *Guy* (who was an Hermit) or to view the Rareneſs of its Situation, I cannot ſay, but certain it is, that King *Henry* V. being on a time at *Warwick*, came to ſee it, and did determine to have founded a Chantrey here for two Prieſts, had he not been by Death prevented. After which *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, bearing a great Devotion to the Place, whereupon then ſtood nothing but a ſmall Chapel and a Cottage, in that which the Hermit dwelt, in the Firſt of *Henry* VI, obtained Licence to do the like, *&c.* for two Prieſts, which ſhould ſing Maſs in the Chapel there daily, for the good Eſtate of him the ſaid Earl, and his Wife during their Lives, and afterwards for the Health of their Souls, and the Souls of all their Parents, Friends, with all the Faithful deceaſed. Of which Chantrey *William Berkſwell* (afterwards Dean of the Collegiate Church in *Warwick)*

(*a*) *Dugd. Warwickſ.* P. 183.

and

and *John Bevington* were the firſt Prieſts, for whoſe Maintenance, and their Succeſſors, the ſaid Earl, in the Ninth of *Henry* VI, had Licence to grant the Manor of *Aſhorne* in *Warwickſhire* with one Meſſuage, one Carrucate of Land and CXVII. *s.* X *d.* of yearly Rent lying in *Whitnaſh* and *Wellesburne*. And becauſe he thought not that enough, by his laſt Will and Teſtament he ordained, that in all haſte after his Deceaſe, the Remnant of what he had deſigned for his Chantrey-Prieſts there, ſhould by his Executors be delivered, and made ſure to them, and that the Chapel there, with the other Buildings, ſhould be new built, as he the ſaid Earl had deviſed, *&c.* and then did Earl *Richard*, in Memory of the Warlike *Guy*, erect that Statue there, yet to be ſeen on the *South* ſide within that Chapel.

---- And here in our Oratory there was moſt likely a Chantrey at this lower or little Altar, from that Group of Figures here ſtanding, and alſo one or two Chantrey-Prieſts, to officiate at it. But to proceed ----

(*b*) " N° II. (ſays our Author) is an imperfect Fi-
" gure, the Chalk having been rubbed away, the
" Head plain with an Helmet on; it is not unlikely
" this ſhould mean *William de Magnavile* Father of
" *Roiſia*'s firſt Husband, whoſe Lady was *Margaret*
" Daughter and Heireſs of the great *Eudo Dapifer*."

(*b*) P. 42.

REMARKS.

## REMARKS.

What is above called an Helmet, appears† rather to be a round Bonnet or Cap, ſuch as was worn by Perſons about the Reigns of King *Henry* Fifth and Sixth, as appears from ſeveral Pieces of Painting in Glaſs-Windows and Carvings on Stone; that ſuch Caps were wore then, may be ſeen from Sir *William* (*c*) *Dugdale*'s Repreſentation of the Combat in *Paris*, between *John de Aſtley* and *Peter de Maſſe* in 1438, and from that in *Smithfield* between the aforeſaid *John*, and Sir *Philip Boyle* in 1441.

† very plain

(*d*) "But N° VIII, and N° IX. are diſtinguiſhed "(ſays the Doctor) above the reſt by Hearts cut on "their Breaſts, it is natural to judge from hence, "that they mean *Roiſia*'s two Husbands."

## REMARKS.

As theſe Figures are above marſhalled, the Sons of Lady *Roiſia* (marked N° III, IV and V.) do not only take Place of her ſecond Husband *Payn de Beauchamp*, but of her firſt Husband *Geffery de Magnavile*, their own Father; whether this is juſt or natural, I leave to any Herald. Our Author proceeds, and in the ſame manner accounts for thirteen, as marked by him in *Table* III, yet two remain unaccounted for: The *Vere* Family from whom *Roiſia* was

(*c*) *Hiſt. Warwickſ.* P. 72, 73.

(*d*) P. 43.



deſcended

deſcended is entirely omitted; ſome of theſe ſurely (as there was room) might have been introduced with equal Grace and Juſtice, and in ſo doing our Author would have ſhewn his Patroneſs to have had ſome filial Reſpect, and to have expreſſed the Honour and Duty that ſhe owed to her own Parents.---But theſe Figures are aſcertained by mere Imagination, they bear no Relation to *Roiſia*'s Family, or to Perſons who lived in the Reign of King *Henry* II. They are much more modern Repreſentations, the Head-Dreſs not only of the Men, but that of the Women prove the ſame; that the Head-Dreſs of the Ladies about the Year 1400, and afterwards, was, as is repreſented in *Table* III. may be obſerved from antient Figures in Glaſs-Windows, and in Stone-Work. In a Window over the fourth Arch of the Nave of the Church of *Oxburgh*, on the *North* ſide is this Inſcription---- *Orate pro animab. Dni Roberti de Weyland & Cecilie Uxoris ejus*; and in an oppoſite Window on the *South* ſide, is the Shield of the ſaid Sir *Robert* who was Lord of this Town,---Argent, on a Croſs Gules, five Eſcollops, Or; and on the Stones that ſupport the Arches of the ſaid Windows, on the outſide, are to be ſeen two Heads carved, probably to repreſent Sir *Robert*, and his Lady who died in 1385; He, with a Bonnet or Cap, and She in a Head-Dreſs agreeable to what we ſee in *Table* III; and in the Chancel of the ſaid Church, which Chancel was built about the Reign of *Henry* VI, is the Head of a Woman carved in Stone with the ſame Dreſs, and ſerves as a Pedeſtal to ſupport one of the great Beams or Principals of the Roof.

Theſe

Theſe Figures ſeem to be carved in or about the Reign of King *Henry* V; it is very probable that ſome Chantrey, Fraternity or Guild, was held here at this Altar, and that they repreſent ſome particular Members of the ſame, who were remarkable for their Benefactions, &c. to it.

----*Give me leave, by way of* CONCLUSION, *to ſum up in Brief the* EVIDENCE *of the* REMARKS *here made*----

It appears then, that there was an Oratory with an Hermit's Cell at *Royſton* in the *Saxon-Age*, long before the time of the Lady *Roiſia*, ſo that ſhe could not have any Part or Share in the founding of it.

It appears to have been the Oratory of ſome one, or of a Body of Hermits, and continued to be ſo 'till its Diſſolution in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII.

----It appears that the Imagery or Figures on its Wall, bear abſolutely a Relation to Sacred, and not to Prophane Hiſtory, that the Figures were a proper *Apparatus*, highly agreeable to ſuch antient Chapels or Oratories, and that ſome of them were enjoined by Sacred Authority to be ſet up in every Church, &c. as all Antiquity bears Witneſs, which muſt ſuffer by any Prophane, Secular Deſcription or Application of them.

----It appears in part what Images were enjoined to be in Religious Places ſet apart for Worſhip, where the proper Station of ſome Saints was, which may be aſcertained and obſerved by curious Perſons at this very Day, and that the Lady *Roiſia* had no part in the carving of them, out of any private Family-View, or to repreſent any Hiſtory of her own time.

And laſtly, it appears that the Lady *Roiſia* was not buried here, but at *Chickeſand* in *Bedfordſhire*.

This being the real and true State of the *Royſton-Oratory*, I ſhall paſs by thoſe Reflections or Concluſions that the Doctor has drawn from the ſuppoſed Foundation of the Lady *Roiſia*, as quite foreign, and of no Moment to the Subject in Queſtion.

*F I N I S.*

---

## E R R A T A.

Page 8. Line 28. *Litteras*, read *Literas*. p. 14. l. 9. Site, *r.* Scite. p. 18. l. 11. *Vere*, ſecond, *r. Vere* the Second. p. 23. l. 1. *per*, r. *pro*. p. 27. l. 6. inter, *r.* interr. *ibid.* l. 24. Site, *r.* Scite. p. 31. l. 12. thus, *r.* Thus. p. 36. l. 8. Patter, *r.* Patteè. p. 51. in the Notes, 1986, *r.* 198. p. 52. to Note (*c*) at the bottom, add ---- *Gold. Leg.* p. 57. l. 23. *dele* it, p. 63. l. 7. *Tersfield*, r. *Fersfield*. p. 71. l. 21. that, *r.* the

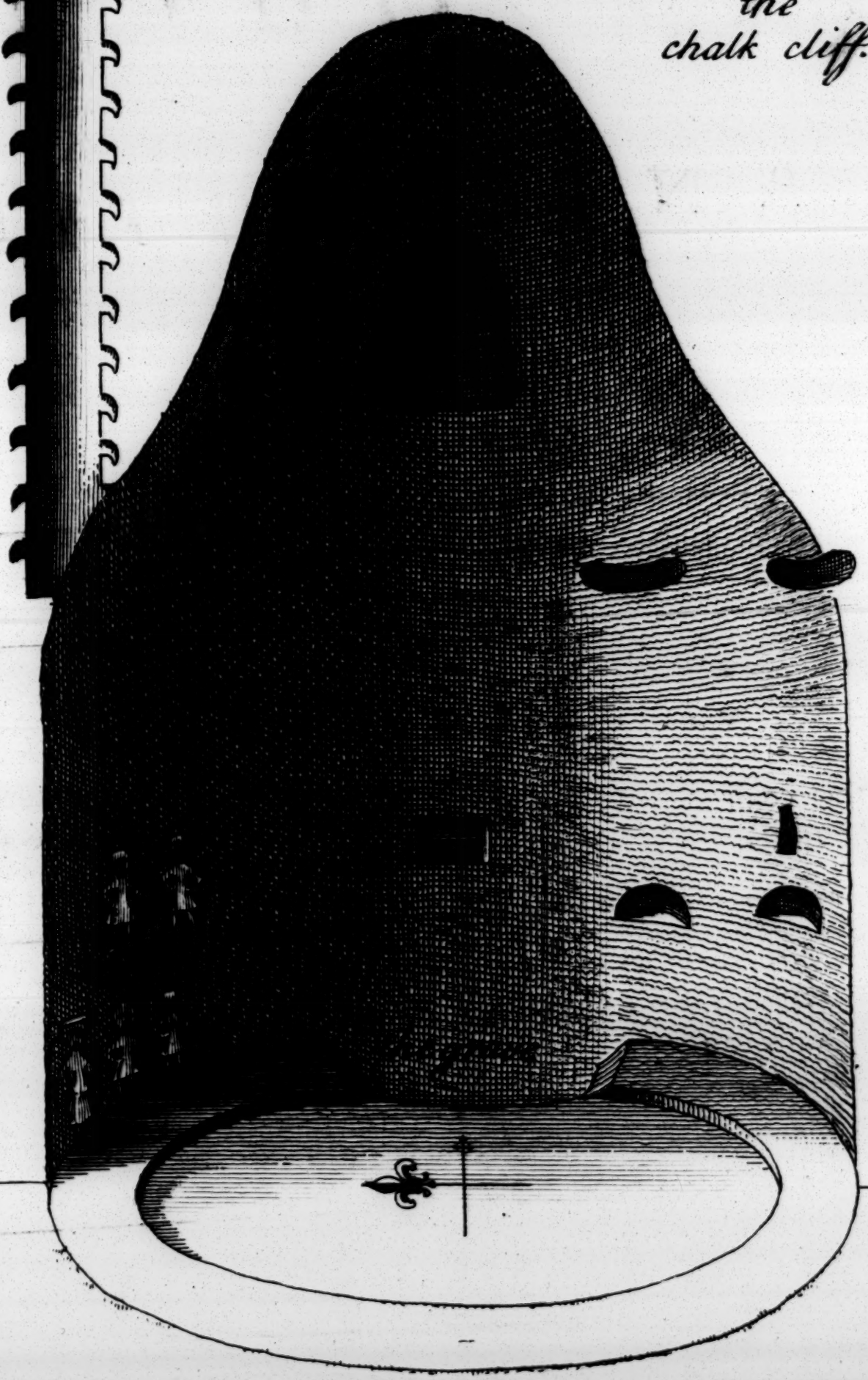
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*A section of* ROISIA'S *Mausoleum at Royston. 19 Oct. 1742.*

TAB. I.

*the chalk cliff.*



*Frontispiece*

*W. Stukeley d. et.* *J. Mynde sc.*

Ex Hist. Museum, published by Mr. Ibbetson. Vol: III. p. 3701 &c.

# Palæographia Britannica:

OR,

# DISCOURSES

ON

# ANTIQUITIES

IN

# BRITAIN.

## NUMBER II.

*Origines Royſtonianæ*, Part II. or a defence of lady *ROISIA de Vere* Foundreſs of *Roiſton*, againſt the calumny of Mr. *Parkin* rector of *Oxburgh*. wherein his pretended anſwer is fully refuted: the former opinion further confirm'd and illuſtrated. To which occaſionally are added, many curious matters in antiquity: and ſix copper-plates.

*Nec ſatis apparet, cur librum factitet, utrum*
*minxerit in patrios cineres: an triſte bidental*
*moverit inceſtus: certe furit, ac velut urſus,*
*objectos* Caveæ *valuit ſi frangere clathros,*
*indoctum, doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.*

*By* WILLIAM STUKELEY *Rector of* All-ſaints *in* Stamford.

*STAMFORD:*

Printed by *Francis Howgrave*, 1746. and ſold by *Andrew Rogers* bookſeller there: and the bookſellers in *London*.

To the Right Honourable

# The Lord *HARDWICK*,

Lord High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*, &c. &c.

*My Lord*,

IT happens, that I very ſoon fulfill, what I ſeem to have prognoſticated, when I firſt did myſelf the honor, of prefixing your great name, to my book on this ſubject.

" Time that diminiſhes moſt things, may poſſibly " add to the bulk of this work, and render it a volume, " and more worthy of your Lordſhips patronage.

The firſt part is really accompliſh'd, and ſooner than I then thought of: I wiſh I may be as ſure of the latter part.

I was

# DEDICATION.

I was then induc'd to inſcribe it to your Lordſhip, not on account of the bulk of the work, but becauſe of the curioſity and worthineſs of the ſubject, as it appear'd to me; and becauſe of its vicinity, to your Lordſhips elegant retreat of *Wimpole*; which you have re-edify'd, and render'd more agreeable for your abode, when publick cares will permit you, to enjoy the ſweets of retirement.

I did not mean, nor do I now mean, to make your name a ſanction to my errors. if I have committed any, I take them to my ſelf. But I might reaſonably have hoped, no one would offer ungentleman-like treatment, to any paper, that had the name of Lord *Hardwick* prefix'd: whoſe diſcernment of perſons and things is too exact, to countenance rudeneſs, or ignorance.

As the *Roiſton* antiquity is now become a controverſy: what I then offer'd to your Lordſhip as a protector of learning, I now lay before you as a judg; well qualified in all kinds of human and divine literature. your Lordſhip's penetration, is every day exercis'd in diſcovering truth, thro' the gloſſes put upon it, by the moſt artful oratory and eloquence. when thrown only into the plaineſt and ſimpleſt light: you will not have the leaſt difficulty in diſcerning it, from that changeable and fallacious garb, which pretenders to ſcience may draw over it.

The

# DEDICATION.

The cauſe likewiſe of a great lady and a widow, the cauſe of a great king traduc'd and ill treated, naturally addreſſes its ſelf to your Lordſhips tribunal: where it will ſurely meet that countenance which it deſerves, and in your conſummate judgement will acquieſce.

To ſuch, to the character of the dead, as well as of the living, your Lordſhip is the rightful patron and protector.

Some of the noble parts of the hiſtory of our illuſtrious monarch †*Henry* II as a *legiſlator* and lawyer, a hero, and a prince of piety and religion, are here illuſtrated, from real monuments of his time; conformable to the hiſtorians, who then wrote from their own knowledg. if at any time it engages your Lordſhips attention: and if it contributes to your entertainment, it will be the greateſt pleaſure to

† See, Har: Hiſt: Vol: V. p. 165, 6, 7, 8

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordſhip's moſt devoted,*

6. *july* 1745. *and obedient ſervant,*

W. STUKELEY.

# THE

# PREFACE

*WHEN I was inform'd that Mr.* P—— *had been for two years, buſying himſelf and friends, about writing on the* Roiſton *antiquity: I imagin'd, he had met with ſome record, that gave a new light to it. what I wrote was done in a very ſhort time, at* London, *immediately after I had taken the drawings of the place. I did it, with an intent to entertain ſome friends that deſired my opinion of it. I likewiſe thought the thing deſerv'd it; for I take it to be the moſt conſiderable* Engliſh *antiquity, we have ſeen.*

*I have had many letters from Mr.* Roger Gale *and other good judges of ſuch matters, that thought in the ſame manner: and commending what I had done. but it ſurpriz'd me a little, when I read Mr.* P——s *book, finding after he had made a great parade of advertizing by himſelf and friends: and a muſter-roll of reaſons, proofs and demonſtrations: yet in reality, he had only perplex'd, and darken'd the ſubject with new conjectures; and as they appear to me, abſolutely wild, arbitrary and groundleſs. I thought it ſtrange that he ſhould trouble the world, on no better a foundation; 'till I diſcern'd, that there was ſome more than ordinary ſiniſter view in it: and that a torrent of diſingenuity, rudeneſs, and inflexible contradiction, miſrepreſentation, and all the engines of a perverſe ſpirit were employ'd; which evidently ſhew'd, it was dictated by a party rage: as he had no perſonal knowledge of me.*

A man's foes ſhall be they of his own houſehold: *a truth which muſt hold good, becauſe ſpoken by the higheſt authority! the ſubterraneous chapel at* Roiſton, *was not my property, nor did I aſſume the monopoly of writing upon it. and why might not two perſons write upon it, without being offenſive to one another? but ſomewhat more than common is ever at the bottom; when ill language is us'd: at leaſt, with the lawyers, it is reckon'd, the ſign of a bad cauſe.*

*This*

*This gentleman, who from an oblique turn ſomewhere, undertook to write againſt me, ſuppos'd, he could not make out a book, unleſs he tranſcrib'd mine. and after he had tired his friends, far and near, town and country, with endeavouring to get ſubſcriptions, for ſo important a performance: he thought, the book would not ſell with a ſimple title, therefore he garniſh'd it, with the pomp of,* Remarks on or an anſwer to Dr. Stukeley's book.

*Like* Horace's *chap,*

Ut præco, ad merces, turbam qui cogit emendas.

*and that he might transfuſe my book compleatly into his own, he purloin'd my plates too; but wanted ingenuity to acknowledge by whom he had profited: and palm'd them upon the world for his own, in his advertiſements.*

*A popiſh bookſeller who ſells works, calculated for the benefit of mother church, was firſt employed to get my plates, from my bookſeller. but (as the plates were in my own cuſtody) they were oblig'd to copy them, and very diſhoneſtly left out my name at the bottom of the plates, as the deſigner. whoever undertakes to draw them out, no worſe than I have done, from the ſubterraneous chapel its ſelf, will find, it takes no ſmall time, and pains and judgment. therefore I had a right to their thanks at leaſt, when they us'd my labours without leave. this uſage among proteſtants is call'd pyracy.*

*In my book, I illuſtrated the whole affair of this chapel, from the beſt hiſtorians. from thoſe hiſtorians that lived in the time, when the things were tranſacted. from the accurate and learned* Benedict Abbot *of* Peterborough, *chaplain to* Henry II. *always preſent with him, both at home and in* Normandy. *a fine character of him in* Swapham *put out by* Sparkes, *and a catalogue of the books he wrote, p.* 99. *ſee* Hernes *teſtimonys of him, before his edition, and of him more hereafter.*

*Again, my accounts are taken from that noble hiſtorian* Roger Hoveden, *another of* Henry IIs. *chaplains, always at court, perſonally converſant in all tranſactions of thoſe times: who had all the original papers in his hand, of which he writes. again, from* Giraldus Cambrenſis, *who was a learned man, and ſecretary to that monarch, along with him in his* Iriſh *expedition, knew all the ſecrets and ſprings of perſons and things. laſtly from* Matthew Paris,

Paris, *a monk of* St. Albans, *near the ſeat of power: one of the moſt renown'd hiſtorians of this kingdom, ſays biſhop* Nicolſon, *but one particularly lyable to the ſpleen of the papiſts. as may be ſeen ſufficiently in the teſtimonys prefixt to* Wats's *edition. yet the papiſts themſelves give him the character of an excellent hiſtorian.*

*Theſe were all coeval with the matters wrote on. the hiſtory and imagery of the* Roiſton *chapel, the whole of my book, is graphically deduc'd from theſe authors, and appears like a picture drawn from their words. they mutually confirm each others veracity and exactneſs. and only upon the ſuppoſal of its being done for what I make it, it could not have been deſign'd more accurately.*

*But all this is ſpirited away, by the ſingle romant of the* golden legend. *there is not any one thing, in my book, that is not attack'd from that promptuary of popiſh ſuperſtition. in a word, p.* 28. *he makes my whole hiſtory of the imagery to be deduc'd from certain* monkiſh annals, *and that I am forc'd to ſtretch even them, to make 'em tally with my account.*

*This, good reader, is the method wherewith ſome people treat mankind. you are not to believe any thing but the golden legend. any author, living or dead that tallys not therewith, is to be damn'd. thoſe admirable hiſtorians abovemention'd, the honor and glory of our country, and its hiſtory, muſt be branded with the name of* monkiſh annals. *they diſtinguiſh not, the public tranſactions of higheſt moment, of the eaſtern and weſtern world, the fate and fortune of many kingdoms and eſtates, letters of the greateſt princes, pandects of laws civil and eccleſiaſtical, and other matters of policy and legiſlation, of utmoſt concern to mankind, from the little occurrences, within the walls of a cloiſter. and all the while the golden legend is held forth, as the only unqueſtionable authority. ſo that with much tranſcription from my book, much from the golden legend, much falſe quotation, chicanery, ſophiſtry, miſrepreſentation and invidious reflection, and all my copper p'ates, a new book is produc'd, to alarm the world with my name, as if I had been guilty of the moſt atrocious crime. and a diſpute is raiſed, upon a matter not of ſufficient importance as a diſpute, in a ſcience conjectural: and where we poſſibly may both of us be in the wrong.*

*But*

*But in reality, the quarrel is not ſo much between Dr* Stukeley *and Mr* P—— *as between* Benedict Abbot *and the* legenda aurea. *for inſted of ſolid hiſtory, we muſt be teaz'd with repeated quotation from thence, and that too in the obſolete language. like the antiquarys gueſts, invited to an entertainment of acorns: becauſe, truly, that was the moſt antient food. for the ſame reaſon, they ought to be allow'd to drink out of acorn cups only. and this is the way to make the entertainment dry and ſober enough. and by this rule, an antiquary may well protract the payment of a tradeſman's bill: for 'tis not worthy of his regard, till it becomes an antiquity.*

*Thus fares it with thoſe gentlemen, that think, if they have got a ſeal or two of an old abby, they are qualify'd for an author. and that every thing which is old ought to be printed, indiſcriminately, for that reaſon only: without any uſe, inſtruction or entertainment. but tis altogether inexcuſable to make this a pretence to abuſe any perſon: and carry on ſchemes of party-reſentment, on their waſte paper.*

*I have for a long while enjoy'd the candor of the public, toward my writings. I have quoted innumerable authors therein; never with acrimony, and ill-nature; never without honor, decency and reſpect. but here my misfortune is to have ſpoken honorably of a great king, the greateſt who ever rul'd our ſcepter. I have ſpoken honorably of many noble perſonages, that were much attach'd to him. I have made* Henry *the* IId. *as it were the hero of my book, who dealt ſome hard things toward their favorite ſaint* Becket. *I have ſpoke civilly of a lady of quality, and of picty, throughout my book; conſequently her name often occurs. this fine lady he rudely calls* crambe bis repetita. *a new phraſe of his own making! I have ſpoken ſome true things, tho' not to the honor of the* French. *I have likewiſe neglected ſome fulſom adoration, to ſome ſaints, both of* Engliſh *and foreign growth. true and imaginary. this is provocation enough: theſe are crimes that demand the ſevereſt uſage: ſuch as the tyrants of civil and ſpiritual power never fail to deal, toward all under their hands.*

*Therefore I hope the candid reader will pardon me, if ſelf defence among other reaſons, excites me, to offer this further account of the* Roiſton *antiquity, in print. what I wrote before on the ſubject, I thought it deſerv'd it. I had an opinion of the curioſity of it. aud I know, to what a length theſe matters of ſpeculation may acceptably be extended; and no further. I muſt, then, in-*

*treat*

*treat the reader not to impute to me, the tediouſneſs or the dulneſs of the preſent diſpute. and if any thing diſagreable falls to the ſhare of my opponent; if the great laugh is turn'd upon himſelf: he muſt charge it to his own account: who began with me, cauſeleſly and unprovoked. nor ſhall I think my ſelf anſwerable for any future conſequences.*

*As I have been oblig'd to reconſider the matter, and to re-examine the deſigns I made of it, I found the further I inquired into it, the more I was convinced of the truth of my former* hypotheſis; *and many new confirmations and illuſtrations of it occur'd. I have recited a good many of them, tho' not all. this has ſwell'd my book; and I have added ſome other incidental matters, that I thought new, uſeful, important and entertaining; to allure the reader in going thro' ſuch a heap of croſs-grain'd contradiction, as I had to deal with. as ſome further relief to his patience, I have divided it into chapters. I think I have intirely overthrown my adverſarys ſcheme, which is not ſtrong, thro' its own repugnancy to its ſelf. 'tis inconſiſtent, has no regular ſyſtem, no meaning, more than a jejune view of reſtoring the worſt part of old religion: making us to believe, there are no claws in the lyon's foot. but I do not pretend to demonſtration, as he does, where he is the moſt diſtant from it. I think I ſufficiently ſhew, his notions about lady* ROISIA's *cave, are very ill founded, and his fantaſtic triumph premature.*

*I have only to advertize and aſſure the reader, that this work was intirely finiſhed in the beginning of the month of* july 1745, *before we had any knowledge of the late ſhocking rebellion; and was intended to have been printed that ſummer. I mention this for two reaſons, 1ſt. that the reader may not think any expreſſions herein were owing to that event: in truth, I have ſtruck out many, that might have been ſo interpreted. and 2dly. I defer'd the publication, till the rebellion was ſubdu'd; as an amuſement unſeaſonable, in a time of ſo much danger.*

*N. B.* The motto in the title page is taken from
*Horat. de arte poet. ad finem.*

# CHAP. I.

*Nec minus eſt virtus, quam quærere parta tueri.*

*The tapiſtry of the conquerors expedition, in the church of* Bayeux, *of a like taſte with lady* ROISIA's *figures. The nobleſt monument of* Engliſh *antiquity abroad: as the* Roiſton *cave at home. A new confirmation of my hypotheſis from ſome letters in it. Some remarks on Mr.* P——s *hoſtility, the manner and ſourſe of it, becauſe I ſpeak civilly of* Henry II. *The averſion of the court of* Rome.

THE great *French* antiquary, *Montfaucon*, in the year 1730, publiſh'd a pompous book in two folio volumes, dedicated to the *French* king; intituled, *les monumens de la monarchie francoiſe*, with all the figures and repreſentations of their kings, their monuments, and the antiquitys relating to them, which time has ſpar'd. The nobleſt part of that work, is a ſuit of hangings, belonging to the cathedral church of *Bayeux* in *Normandy*, being the hiſtory of the conqueſt (as comonly call'd) by *William* duke of *Normandy*. This piece of tapiſtry is 212 foot in length, about two foot in bredth. It contains the repreſentation of *Edward* the confeſſor making his will; ſending over *Harold*, one of his nobles, to *William* duke of *Normandy* with it: wherein he has nominated him the duke, his ſucceſſor. *Harold* by tempeſt is driven upon the coaſt of *Guy* earl of *Ponthieu*; who took him priſoner and expected a conſiderable ranſom. Duke *William* hearing of it, demands the liberty of *Harold*, and carrys him to his palace. *Harold* ſwears fealty to him. He returns. King *Edward* dyes. *Harold* is crown'd by *Stigand* archbiſhop. The duke builds a fleet and invades *England*, gives battle to *Harold*, who is kill'd.

This is the beginning and the end of this piece of tapiſtry, for 'tis not quite compleat; nor have I mention'd the whole, of what hiſtory it contains; but refer the curious reader to the work. We learn here, from the picture of it, much of the uſage of thoſe times, which were the ſame in *England* and *France*: their habits, arms, ſhips, churches, houſes, and many other matters, conformable to the beſt hiſtorians of the time. And we learn many facts, in that memorable hiſtory, which writers have not adverti ſed us of.

'Tis the conſtant opinion of thoſe of the church of *Bayeux*, which has been handed down from the time, concerning this work, that it was made by *Maud*, wife to *William* the conqueror. That vertuous princeſs, much intereſted for the glory of the king her husband, had a mind to leave to poſterity, this monument of one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate expeditions, that ever was made.

Monſieur *Montfaucon* had this work drawn out exactly, in the taſte and manner of the original; and has taken pains to illuſtrate the whole hiſtory, largely. His book in general, does great honour to his own country; and this piece in particular, is indeed, the nobleſt monument in the world, relating to our old *Engliſh* hiſtory. Had Mr *Parkin* ever ſeen this Work, he would have ſneer'd it; as he has done that at *Roiſton*, in language, and complements equally awkard; in the dedication to his patron, of which 'tis proper I ſhould give a ſpecimen: as an introduction to his taſte and manner.

" This muſt be granted, as you have ſo accurately ſurvey'd the bold
" baſſo relievo's the breathing ſtatues of the principal ſaints, the mar-
" vellous hiſtorical pieces and ornaments requir'd to be, and to be ob-
" ſerv'd in churches abroad ——— ornaments and relievo's to be found
" alſo in our oratory, tho' in a mean and very low life.

This muſt be granted to be ſuch a piece of language and matter as never yet was addreſs'd, in any dedication. The meaning of it is too abſtruſe, too far remov'd from vulgar underſtanding, for me to pretend to explain the whole of it; I only make *an anſwer to or remark upon* the laſt Words, as they appertain to my province. " Ornaments and relievo's
" to be found alſo, in our oratory, tho' in a very mean and low life.

Mr.

Mr. P—— would certainly think this fine work of *Montfaucon*'s, not ſo elegant as thoſe of *Angelo* and *Baudinello* (as he calls him) but I muſt tell him, he that pretends to be an antiquarian, ſhould know, the value of things does not altogether go in proportion with their fineneſs. And had theſe hangings been as well deſign'd, as *Angelo* and *Bandinelli* could have done it; they would have been of no value at all; becauſe, like *their* works, they would only be the fantaſtical ideas of the deſigners imagination; who never ſaw the perſons and things repreſented. Yet people of true judgement value theſe works, becauſe they are what they are; of the taſte of the time they belong to, whence we know their genuineneſs. And thoſe who underſtand drawing as well as Mr. *P*—— does, who are not few in number, can very eaſily form a moſt exact idea of the thing thus repreſented, in the taſte of the time. It would be abſurd and unnatural were it otherwiſe. And the term of low life is as improperly affixed to theſe things; as his compariſon between the popiſh ornaments of churches abroad; and the ſketches of lady *ROISIA*'s crypt.

The truth is, the drawing in this famous piece of tapiſtry, is ſo extremely like that of our lady *ROISIA*'s, (for ſo I muſt ſtill venture to ſpeak, notwithſtanding Mr. *P*——'s anger) that at firſt ſight we diſcern, they are of a country, and age, and hand, very little diſtant and different. And I ſtill dare venture to affirm, that the counteſs *ROISIA* a lady of vertue, much intereſted for the glory of the king, the great benefactor of their family, faithful adherents to the king (*Henry* II. I mean) wrought theſe figures and pictures, in her ſepulchral chapel at *Roiſton*; as a monument to herſelf and to them. And as *Montfaucon*'s tapiſtry is indubitably, the nobleſt monument of *Engliſh* antiquity abroad, ſo is our *Roiſton* cave, the nobleſt monument of *Engliſh* antiquity, that is in *England*, or that has been diſcover'd in our time.

'Tis this conſideration alone that tempts me, to make this ſecond publication. It was happy for *Montfaucon*, that there is a running inſcription in letters, all along every part of the tapiſtry, to explain the whole: thus it begins,

REX EDWARD HAROLD DVX ANGLORVM
ET SVI MILITES EQVITANT AD BOSHAM
ECCLESIA HIC HAROLD MARE NAVIGAVIT, &c.

otherwiſe it would have been as difficult, to have explain'd it, as that of lady *ROISIA*'s carving. But queen *Maud* made it on purpoſe for a public monument, and gave it to the church, where it happens to be preſerv'd to this day. Lady *ROISIA* made her work, for a private monument, for none to ſee but herſelf, well acquainted with every figure, and the meaning ſhe had, in making them.

In *june* 1745. I went down this venerable obſcurity again, to compare my drawings with the originals, for Mr. *P*—— finds fault with my prints, as not being juſtly taken; tho' at the ſame time, he copys them with all pretended faults. I had reaſon to wonder, that they wanted ſo little correction, as the candid reader will find, by comparing the impreſſion in this, with the former book of my publication. For 'tis extremely difficult to draw a regular deſign, of the whole imagery, as I have done in my two plates. Becauſe a few large candles afford but a very ſmall degree of light, in ſo large a place. Whilſt I nicely view'd the figure of S. *Laurence*, I diſcern'd upon his garment, two letters thus, V s which I had not ſeen before. They ſeem to be the laſt letters of the name *Laurentius*, I obſerve the letters are exactly of the ſame manner, as thoſe in the tapiſtry of *Bayeux:* And *there* frequently, the letters are of different ſizes, as here: which is a confirmation of my ſcheme.

I had not ſo eaſy a task to explain the hiſtory of this cell, for want of the letters, as in the tapiſtry; but I attempted it, becauſe I thought it merited it. What I wrote upon it, was done in a month's time, at *London*, and ſent to the preſs. but ſince I have been ſo ill us'd for my endeavours, to amuſe the public, I have taken more time, carefully to inquire into this affair, and every days conſideration of it, confirms me in my former ſentiments.

My intention therefore in this book is, to examine that of my opponents. And when I reflect upon the obvious and notorious intent I had, in what I firſt publiſh'd about it, I, and all the world, as far as I ſee, wonder, what ſpirit could poſſeſs the man, that wrote againſt it; eſpecially in his manner. It muſt needs be acknowledg'd, that I wrote with an intent to amuſe and entertain, and perhaps ſomewhat improve, thoſe that pleaſed to read it. It was profeſſedly a matter of conjecture, and all ſtudys of this kind, for the moſt part, muſt needs be ſo. Suppoſe I were

miſtaken,

miſtaken, ſuppoſe he could have conjectur'd better than I, he might have publiſh'd it independently of my work: but I aver, he had no right to do it, in the manner he has done.

When he had ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd my prints: his next buſineſs was to find fault, with them, and every thing I had wrote, to explain 'em. His firſt and determin'd reſolution was to deny and decry every thing I had wrote; to contradict every aſſertion. what I apprehended to be antient, he would have modern. What I thought of a later date, he will exalt it, to a high degree of antiquity: in a word, to affirm what I deny, and to deny what I affirm.

All this while he pretends not to go upon ordinary grounds of probabilitys, which are proper to theſe ſtudys; a laying of evidences together, in ſuch a manner as they will bear, or require: but he proclaims 'em all *proofs* and *demonſtrations*. He could not be content to take my prints for his own, but he has likewiſe tranſcrib'd nearly my whole book, and ſold it for his own. He has copy'd both prints and book, merely for the ſake of finding fault with them, and to ſwell his own. And if any thing can ſtill poſſibly be worſe, he has hit upon it, which is, treating me throughout his whole book with indecency.

We have no perſonal accquaintance together, and therefore ſome people would wonder at it. How without any provocation, one man ſhould thus treat another. 'Tis not uncommon, for people of different ſtudys, to deſpiſe thoſe they are not addicted to. How comes it about, that one who ſeems to have a love for ſtudys in antiquity, can't be civil to one of like turn? It was not long, before I found out the ſourſe of all this malice, which I ſhall give from my learned friend biſhop *Nicolſon*'s *Engliſh* hiſtorical library, p. 77.

" *Henry* IIds. long conteſts (ſays he) with the haughty archbiſhop " *Becket*, gave occaſion to vaſt numbers of writers to engage on both " ſides; ſo that we have ſeveral pictures drawn of this king; who is re- " preſented ſometime as a god, and elſewhere as a devil; according as " the author favour'd the court of *England*, or of *Rome*.

Now *Henry* II. and his mother the *empreſs* were the great patrons of Lady *ROISIA*'s family; and her family were firm adherents to the royal intereſts. I have interpreted the imagery of the *Roiſton* oratory, to relate thereto. I have ſhewn *Henry* IIs. picture therein twice, and his wives, queen *Elenor*; I have ſpoke with reſpect of him. This has rais'd my adverſarys choler: he will have it to be any body rather then *Henry* II. Moreover there is another figure in this oratory, which he ſays, is *Thomas a Becket*: but I have not acknowledg'd it, in that quality. All theſe are fundamental crimes, not to be forgiven. Therefore my book muſt be condemn'd by him, and his inquiſitorial councel; as heterodox, and heretical.

Nevertheleſs I ſhall aſſume the liberty of anſwering for myſelf. But as I always wrote for the entertainment of the public; I would endeavour to do it, in as agreeable a manner as I can: I would not be prolix, in that which is of no great importance; nor even in that which is amuſing.

Peruſing my antagoniſt's book, I find 'tis of ſo inconſiſtent and contradictory a texture, that there appears no ſyſtem in it. He endeavours to deſtroy mine, without ſubſtituting any thing regular in its ſtead. He leads the reader, thro' a tedious detail of fable and romance, without informing him of any thing worth notice. His ideas are ſo confus'd, that tho' nothing is more eaſy than to anſwer it, yet 'tis perplexing to do it in a method, fit for the readers peruſal; therefore to make amends for ſo much tedious diſputation, I ſhall take opportunitys to add ſome matters pertinent, and of importance enough ſeaſonably to releive him.

# CHAP. II.

*Parcius; iſta viris tamen objicienda memento.* Virg.

*The hiſtory of* Roiſton, *the croſs, and ſubterraneous crypt, agreeable to what all authors have hitherto wrote on the place. All rejected by Mr.* P—— *yet he offers no regular hypotheſis. Our author anſwers him page by page. Demonſtrations not eaſily found in antiquity matters. His proofs confuted.* I. *That the croſs at* Roiſton *is older than lady* ROISIA. II. *From the hundred court.* III. *His fundamental reaſon overthrown. A make-weight reaſon overballanced. Mr.* P—— *recommended to a Poſt.*

I Have ſaid ſomewhat of the occaſion of this book; I ſhall now open the cauſe, that is to be agitated between us. In the year 1742. they accidentally diſcover'd a ſubterraneous crypt, in the very center of the town of *Roiſton* in *Hertfordſhire:* under the very market-croſs, cloſe by the ſtump of an antient croſs, which originally gave name to the town. At firſt, this town was called *Roiſes* croſs, being built ſince the *Norman* times, as all authors agree, that ever wrote about it. Before then, this place was an open, uninhabited champaign, or chalk down, for grazing of ſheep, like the *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire* plains; cover'd with a moſt beautiful turf: the whole country being an intire body of chalk.

The croſs was a large and tall obeliſcal free ſtone, let into the foot-ſtool, a great rough ſtone remaining: the ſtones being fitted into one another, with mortaiſe and tenon, as the workmen ſpeak. On the head of the obeliſcal ſtone was a cap or capital, fitted on with like mortaiſe and tenon, on which was a crucifix carv'd, or the image of the virgin *Mary* and ſome other ſaints.

There

There were very many of theſe croſſes formerly, ſet up, where ſeveral roads meet, and were deſign'd for directions to travellers, and to put them in mind of addreſſing themſelves to God almighty, their moſt important buſineſs, in the journey of life. In this northern road, there is a very fine croſs of this ſort, remaining at *Newark upon Trent*, call'd *Beaumont*'s croſs. And there was a much finer one, in the middle of the market place, which they had indiſcreetly incompaſs'd with a market houſe of timber. The mob at a late election for members of parliament, riotouſly burnt it down, and deſtroy'd the noble monument in the center, the croſs of ſtone.

The *Roiſton* croſs I ſuppoſe, was deſtroy'd in ſome like fooliſh riot, or when over zealous people at the Reformation, or in the civil wars, pull'd down theſe monuments, thinking they were ſuperſtitious. It ſtood where the two famous old *Roman* roads croſs each other, the hermen-ſtreet running north and ſouth, the ikenil-ſtreet, paſſing it at almoſt right angles. This croſs, by the concurrent relation of all authors, that ever examin'd this ſubject, was erected by a Lady of great eminence, whoſe name was *ROISIA* or *Roheſia*, which is no other than our modern name of *Roſe*; but it was a common name among our *Norman* anceſtors. They all agree this was a lady of quality, tho' all, for want of ſufficient inquiry, do not preciſely tell us the perſon.

After ſufficient care, I inform'd the reader in the firſt part of this work, who this Lady was, of her deſcent, fortune and family, of her husband's, children, her and their actions, as fully as was neceſſary to the purpoſe propos'd.

* The ſubterraneous crypt, which we are to diſpute about, is in the ground belonging to this lady, being parcel of the mannor of *Nuſels*, hard by. 'Tis a round, bell-like concavity, dug under ground, in the ſolid chalk-cliff, about 20 foot diameter, 30 or 40 in height. The paſſage into it, is by a narrow perpendicular well, reaching about half way down; with holes cut in the ſides oppoſitely, for the feet, like a ladder. For the reſt, there was a ladder, as at preſent, to deſcend by. Round the bottom, is a broad circular *podium* or bench, going quite round, too broad and not high enough for a bench to ſit on; therefore manifeſtly made for the purpoſe of proſtration, in acts of devotion. This bench is cut off on the

* TAB. I. Frontiſpiece.

the eaſt ſide for about the ſpace of ſix foot, with a cavity, dug lower than the floor of the crypt; manifeſtly deſign'd for, and therefore, in my plate call'd, the grave.

All round the wall of this place, are cut in *baſſo relievo*, in the chalk, many figures of men, women, ſaints, crucifixes, &c. in the ſtile and habits of the time of the firſt Plantagenets, when our Lady *ROISIA* liv'd. Theſe figures extend as high as a perſon that cut them, can reaſonably reach.

Digging a hole in the ground, *anno* 1742. to ſet a poſt down, in the market croſs, they came to a large milſtone, which was laid over the perpendicular deſcent. They went down and diſcover'd the upper part of the bell-like form, but almoſt fill'd up with rubbiſh. they emptyed the place of the rubbiſh, in hopes of finding treaſure. when they came to about the height of the carved figures, they found the remaining ſpace to the very bottom, fill'd up with the pureſt garden mold; and in that, the corpſe or ſceleton of a woman; the ſcull of which I had in my hand, and well knew to be female.

When I had maturely examin'd and conſider'd all the circumſtances, and all the appearances of this affair, I thought I had good reaſon to pronounce this place an antient ſepulchral chapel, made here before the town of *Roiſton*, by lady *ROISIA*, who had ſet up the croſs: intended for the place of her burial, and was ſo in fact; that it was *her* body found therein. The rottenneſs of the bones ſhew'd it had been interr'd there five or 600 Years. When I had drawn out the imagery and examin'd it, by the hiſtorians of the time, I found out the full purport of it, as in my former book, which I printed at the requeſt of my friends, both in town and country, who expreſt an intire ſatisfaction and approbation of it.

When I wrote it, I had not conſulted the laborious and learned *Weavers* funeral monuments, from whence I ſhall tranſcribe what relates to our affair; both as 'tis a ſtrong confirmation of my ſentiments, and may be propoſed as the text or *theſis* for us to inlarge upon, in this diſpute. p. 547. *Weaver.*

## *Roiſton.*

" *Roheſia* the daughter of *Aubrey de Vere*, chief juſtice of *England*, un-
" der *Henry* I. (ſiſter to *Aubrey de Vere*, the firſt earl of *Oxford*, and
" wife to *Geffery Magnavilla*, or *Mandevil* the firſt earl of *Eſſex)* erected,
" where now this town of *Roiſton* ſtandeth, a croſs in the highway, which
" was thought in that age, a pious work to put paſſengers in mind of
" Chriſt's paſſion. Whereupon it was called *Crux Roheſiæ*, before there
" was either church, or town. But afterwards, ſaith *Vincent*, out of the
" records in the tower, *Euſtach de Merch*, knight, lord of *Nuſels* in this
" tract, had adjoyned thereto, a little monaſtery of cannons regular, in ho-
" nour of St. *Thomas* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. then were innes built here.
" ſo that in proceſs of time, by little and little, it grew to be a town,
" which inſtead of *Roheſia*'s croſs, was called *Roheſia*'s town, and now
contracted into *Roiſton*.

" This priory was augmented in her revenues, and renewed by *Ra-
" dulphus de Rouceſter* and others. *Richard* I. gives aud confirms, *mona-
" ſterio ſancti* Thome *martyris, apud crucem* Roheſie, & *canonicis ibidem,
" locum ipſum in quo idem monaſterium fundatum eſt, cum pertinentijs ſuis,
" que* Euſtachius de Merc *fundator ipſius monaſterij*, & Radulfus de Rou-
" ceſter, & *alii fideles, rationabiliter dedere eis. Anno regni* I. *in arch.
" turris* London, *cart. antiq. R.*

Mr. *Weaver* who writes this, was a great maſter in our *Engliſh* anti-quitys, of infinite diligence in ſearching records, and of good judgement. He had the moſt extenſive acquaintance, with all the antiquarys of his time, who were very free in communications to him. He had full liberty of inſpecting all the records, in the tower, in the augmentation office, the rolls, the heralds office, Sir *Robert Cotton*'s immenſe library; he had the collections of *Auguſtin Vincent*, *Windſor* herald, and keeper of the tower records; of Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Selden*; Sir *Simon Dews*; Sir *Richard*, and Sir *Henry St. George*; *John Philpot*, and *William la Neve*, *York* herald, and to ſay all Mr. *Camden*. Therefore what he writes, muſt be of authority, and with his ſentiments about the matter in hand, mine coincide.

I ſhall make ſome ſhort remarks upon what I quoted from him. He

ſays

ſays our Lady *ROISIA* erected her croſs here; before there was either church or town. Then he ſhews, from the records in the tower, that *Euſtace de Merc*, lord of *Nuſels*, built his monaſtery here, before there was any town, and apparently, on account of Lady *ROISIA*'s croſs. he built the monaſtery on this ſpot of ground, for the ſake of the croſs. All this is agreably to my notions. Both *that* and the hoſpital were the conſequents of the ſpirit of religion which *ROISIA* excited in the place, as I ſaid, in the concluſion of my book. But it was not the croſs only, the work of this pious lady, but her ſepulchral chapel alſo, which ſhe had for a tract of years made her occaſional oratory, that excited Sir *Euſtace de Merc* her ſucceſſor in *Nuſels*, no doubt an accqaintance and admirer of her virtues, to found his monaſtery here, at her croſs; and on account of her being buryed here. at which ſolemnity, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, he was an aſſiſtant, and probably chief agent. A croſs was look'd upon as holy ground; and frequently in old times, ſet up on purpoſe for religious people, to commemorate in their prayers, people there inter'd; whether in a civil or a military way. Sometime, it was ſet up before interment, ſometime after.

Again I remark, from the words of the charter, of the foundation of the monaſtery, which he quotes, *locum ipſum in quo idem monaſterium fundatum eſt*, the ſcite of the monaſtery; that the monaſtery was then in building. This was in the year 1189, the firſt of *Richard* I. Lady *ROISIA* being then newly dead, and interred here.

All that I wrote concerning this affair is exactly agreeable to what appears on records, and to what all authors have ſaid about *Roiſton*. It was profeſſedly matter of conjecture, we cannot otherwiſe write on ſuch things. 'Tis a regular and conſiſtent account, in a plain manner decyphering the intire imagery of her ſepulchral chapel, in matters of hiſtory, relating to her family and the times, and circumſtances of things, ſhe liv'd in. 'Tis every whit as pertinently done, as queen *Maud*'s tapiſtry abovemention'd, is explain'd by the running title, along the upper-part of the tapiſtry. Lady *ROISIA* did not think fit to write the names of perſons of the figures; ſhe had no need to do it, being for her own uſe, who knew well what ſhe meant by them. Therefore beyond all reaſonable diſpute, there is the higheſt degree of probability that is poſſible, that my *hypotheſis* is juſt, and well founded. If Mr. *P*—— had a mind to

offer other conjectures to the publick, he might have done it without regarding me, at leaſt without abuſing me: without an *anſwer* to me, as he calls it, who never wrote of him, or to him: as being a ſtranger to him.

Then might the world have judg'd of the two conjectures, and choſe which they lik'd; if they had thought fit to have read 'em both. or if he was reſolv'd to draw my name in; yet he might have done it in a manner that would have become a gentleman. when he look'd over *Horace* for his unmeaning motto, he overlook'd this,

——*ſi quid noviſti rectius iſtis,*
*candidus imperti* —— a man may impart his own opinion, with candour and civility to all others. aſſuredly ill manners will ſuit no cauſe; but 'tis unpardonable, in a brother conjecturer.

Now in anſwer to my book, Mr. *P*—— denys all, that I or any body elſe have wrote, concerning *Roiſton* in general, or this ſubterranenous crypt in particular. He ſays, *Roiſton* is an old town; a ſaxon town; he ſays, the croſs is of ſaxon antiquity. He baniſhes lady *ROISIA* out of being. He allows this to have been a chapel, but that it was a hermitage chapel; and ſtill that it was a public chapel, much frequented by travellers; that there were no leſs than five altars at the place, that there were one or more religious gilds or fraternitys held here: that many great and noble perſonages were benefactors to it, and were buryed there: and that theſe pictures generally repreſent the benefactors.

This is the beſt general account I could draw up, *of his hypotheſis*, from his book, which from the confuſion of his ideas, is as contradictory to its ſelf, as to me; to the plain reaſon of things: to all writers and authority whether antient or modern. The fable of *Æſop* may fitly be apply'd here, of the man who had two wives, plucking off his hairs alternately, till he was quite bald.

What I and other writers make antient, he declares modern, and *e contra*; nay he make the ſame things both antient and modern. and I think no body that has ever ſeen the place, and looks over his account of it, but muſt immediately ſee the abſurdity and impoſſibility of his ac-

ac-

count. therefore I judge, the beſt way I can take to anſwer him, is to follow him page by page, as he has form'd his book into no ſyſtem. When I have refuted him, I will make a recapitulation of my own account, with ſome additional evidences, tending to confirm it.

" P. 4. Mr. *P*—— gives *reaſons by way of proof*, to ſhew, that there was " a croſs, with an hermit's cell and oratory annexed, in the town of *Roi-* " *ſton*, long before the time of the lady *Roiſia*. And here he ſhall occa- " ſionally and by the way *demonſtrate*, that part of the figures in the ſaid " oratory, aſcribed by Dr. *Stukely*, to be the work of that lady, is with- " out *ſhew* of truth or foundation.

This is, what we may call his text, or general challenge. I ſhall firſt diſſect and divide it, by way of comment, to ſhew what *reaſons by way of proof* and *demonſtrations*, we are to expect in the progreſs of this work. A great antiquary this, that deals ſo confidently, with *reaſons by way of proof*, in theſe matters, which confeſſedly, in the main, amount only to conjectures, well laid together: the nature of theſe ſtudys requiring and admitting no more. Not only ſo, " but he will by the way *demonſtrate* " that *part* of the figures in the ſaid oratory aſcribed by Dr. *S*—— to be " the work of that lady, is without any *ſhew* of truth or foundation.

By *part of the figures*, we ought to infer, that he grants, lady *Roiſia* had made ſome of the work. Whether he grants it or no, we muſt grant, that he has undertaken an arduous piece of work, to demonſtrate a negative. He firſt began, O courteous reader! to introduce mathematical certainty into the ſcience of antiquitys! and further, will *demonſtrate*, that which is much more difficult than even ſquaring the circle. Now in order to accompliſh his promiſe, 'tis incumbent on him, to produce plain and indiſputable proof and record, of the very perſon, who did cut thoſe figures, which lady *Roiſia* did not: this I leave him to do againſt a new edition of his book.

Our author now goes formally to prove; that there was a croſs, much more antique, than the time of lady *Roiſia*, with an hermites cell and oratory annex'd, in the town of *Roiſton*.

'Tis confeſs'd on all hands, that this town was firſt call'd *Roiſes* croſs. Our author owns it, pa. 35. and 36. where he quotes the name of the convent *de cruce Roheys*, from old deeds. And we ought to confeſs, that he is a bold man indeed, that will dare to prove, *Roiſes* croſs antienter than *Roiſia* who erected it. Nor does he point out any other *Roiſia* that did it. But to ſhew how fearleſs our champion is againſt lady *Roiſia*, he will ſhew likewiſe, that there was an hermites cell in the very town of *Roiſton:* he aſſerts, at the ſame time, that *Roiſton* was a town all this while, and much antienter, than *Camden*, *Weaver*, *Chauncy*, *Salmon*, and twenty other authors unanimouſly agree.

The hermites of all antiquity till now, ſought out ſolitary, barren, heathy, rocky deſerts, impaſſable fens, crags and mountains, horrid and uncultivated. Does not the very name import a wilderneſs? but our author's hermites very politely choſe a poulous town, and the very center, the market place of that town.

> With ſolitude what ſorts, that here's not wondrous riſe?
> Wherein the hermit leads a ſweet, retired life
> From villages replete with ragg'd and ſweating clowns
> And from the lothſom air of ſmoky, cityed towns.
>
> *Drayton's polyolb.* p. 217.

Again, Mr. *P*—— ſo well vers'd in nature, and in the art of *reaſoning* and *demonſtration* will not allow, that *part* of the figures cut in our oratory, aſcribed by Dr. *S*—— to lady *Roiſia*, has any *ſhew* of truth or foundation.

I appeal to all the world, when I have given a regular, uniform, conſiſtent and hiſtorical account of the antiquity we write about, of every part and figure in it, with the names of all the perſons, and the dates when, the purpoſes why they were cut, by our lady *ROISIA:* the whole in a way very eaſy and natural, I appeal, I ſay, to the world, to judge, whether there is not a *ſhew* at leaſt, of truth and foundation for my account?

No perſon ſerious, would eaſily deny this, unleſs he could produce authentic evidence and record of thoſe that did it, by name, and when. A man that wrote modeſtly, might pretend to give better reaſons, than I have done, a more regular, uniform, conſiſtent and hiſtorical account,

and

and we ſhould hear him; if it was matter of importance ſufficient. So far by way of prelude.

But let us proceed to the work, and examine theſe weighty *reaſons*, *proofs*, and *domonſtrations*, which he has inliſted againſt us.

Mr. *P*——'s I. *reaſon*, *proof* and *demonſtration*, that the croſs here is much more antique, than the time of lady *Roiſia*: pa. 4.

" Firſt, it was a practiſe in the *Saxon* times (and good authority main-
" tains, even in the *Britiſh* times) to erect croſſes, on great public roads,
" eſpecially on that ſpot and angle where ſuch great roads met, and croſs-
" ed each other, as in the caſe before us. This he ſays, is granted by
" me: quoting my words, " it was in the *Saxon* times, a very uſual
" thing, for religious people, to ſet up theſe monuments, called croſſes,
" by highway ſides, and eſpecially where ſeveral roads met, and he in-
ſtances, ſays Mr. *P*—— in one called high croſs in *Northamptonſhire*,
" where two roads croſs each other, the *Foſs* and the *Watling ſtreet*.
" Many like inſtances might be produc'd, but as this is granted by the
" Dr. I proceed to another reaſon, which teſtifys the antiquity of this
" croſs.

Thus I have tranſcrib'd his I *reaſon*, *proof* and *demonſtration*: to give the reader a ſpecimen of our antiquarian Euclids demonſtrations. The reader, no doubt, with me, will be ſurpriz'd, when he inquires, where abouts lyes the formidable proof? all that he has ſaid about this proof, is taken from my book. If then it had any proof in it, we ought to conclude, he has made me eat my own words, if not, my own book: for that I muſt have egregiouſly contradicted my ſelf. But I deny, either that I have contradicted my ſelf; or that here is any thing, which in any wiſe *proves* the point in debate.

'Tis true indeed, that I had ſaid, in *Saxon* times, the chriſtians ſet up *frequently* croſſes, where great roads met. But did I infer from thence, that there was a croſs at *Roiſton*, in *Saxon* times: or that it was abſolutely neceſſary, there ſhould be one wherever great roads met? for want of being able to prove this himſelf, he would fain deceive the reader, by a ſuggeſtion, that I had prov'd it for him.

Then

Then he gravely tells us, good authority maintains, even in the *Britiſh* times, they ſet up the like croſſes. This too, he borrows from me, tho' he diſguiſes it. For aſſuredly, he would never allow any thing of mine, to be good authority. I had ſaid in my book, p. 4. that the cuſtom of ſetting up theſe kind of monuments, called croſſes (as it ſeems to me) might have been deduced from Druid times. for they ſet up an obeliſcal ſtone, as a kebla, whereto to turn their faces, in their devotions: which was intirely of the ſame nature as theſe croſſes.

All this may be very true, but I ask Mr. *P*—— how this *proves*, here was a croſs at *Roiſton* before lady *Roiſia?* I recited it as a general poſition, introductory to what I was to write upon the ſubject, and he nails it down to a particular. Becauſe the *Saxons* ſet up croſſes, and the Druids keblas; therefore *Roiſton* croſs was ſet up, much earlier than lady *Roiſia*. a very pretty concluſion this!

Further I argue. if by *Britiſh times*, he means, the heathen britons, 'tis abſurd and ridiculous; if he means, that the chriſtians uſed to ſet up theſe croſſes; I deſire he would prove it, ſhew what authors tell us ſo, where ſuch croſſes are to be found? and if he does this, what relates it to the croſs at *Roiſton?* it by no means *proves*, what he undertook, that there was a croſs at *Roiſton*, before lady *ROISIA*. So that in his I. weighty *reaſon*, *proof* and *demonſtration*, there does not appear to be one grain of proof at all. I have in a whole book declared who built this croſs and when, what was the perſon's name and family, her father, mother, brothers, ſiſters, husbands, children; her acts, life and death; hiſtory, agreeable to all antient records and authors; her name remaining at the place from the beginning, to this day. An author ariſes to blow it all away, in half a dozen meager lines; that are nothing at all to the purpoſe: not ſo much as the evaneſcent ſpecter of an argument.

Our author gives three of theſe ſort of reaſons; we have ſeen one, as a ſpecimen of his logic. The next is thus. p. 5.

II. His ſecond argument is taken from the hundred court being kept here. "The origin of hundreds was from *Alfred*, the *Saxon* king, who "reigned from 872 to 901. They often took their names from ſome re- "markable croſs within the ſame; and the hundred court was held at the ſaid

ſaid croſs. He gives inſtances of theſe matters, which I need not repeat; and concludes, " that the jury in the 4th of *Edward* II. found, that *Gil-*
" *bert de Clare*, earl of *Glouceſter* and *Hertford*, with *Johanna* his wife,
" held a three weeks court at *Royſes* croſs: which proves the antiquity
" of this croſs, and that the hundred court had been held here, from
" its firſt eſtabliſhment, in the time of *Alfred*, when there was, *no doubt*
" a croſs here.

This is the entire ſubſtance and full force of his II. *proof* or *demonſtration*, which is exactly of a piece with his firſt. I told him, in my book, of that paſſage of *Gilbert de Clare* keeping a three weeks court here, in my laſt page. And this according to his cuſtom, he turns againſt me, thinking to overthrow me, with my own battery. I only quoted it, to ſhew the early name of *Roiſes* croſs, *viz.* in *Edward.* II. time. But it ſeems this is not early enough for him: he brings it to prove the hundred court was kept here in king *Alfred*'s time, when he ſays, *no doubt*, there was a croſs here.

This is agreeable to *his* method of proving things. Becauſe a three week's court was held here in *anno* 1311. therefore a county court was kept here in *Alfred*'s time, 400 years before: and then *no doubt*, there was a croſs here. Never was ſuch a ſyllogiſm produc'd before the publick! from whence no concluſion can be drawn; aſſuredly not what he wants.

In the firſt place he ſhould have prov'd, that *Roiſton* was the head of the hundred, where the hundred courts always were kept; that there was a croſs here in king *Alfred*'s time, called *Roiſes* croſs; that the hundred was ſo nominated from it; that a hundred court and a court-leet were the ſame thing: but theſe notoriouſly are not facts. There is no ſuch thing as *Roiſes* croſs hundred: the place of meeting for hundred courts, was about the middle of the hundred: this is the very limit, between two or three different hundreds, and two different countys, and four or five pariſhes, the moſt improper ſpot, in all *England*, for him to have pitcht upon for this purpoſe. *Barkway*, *Tharfield*, *Kneeſworth*, *Baſinbourn*, and *Melburn* pariſhes all join here. And were a hundred court and a three weeks court the ſame thing (tho' they are far different) yet a record of *Ed.* II. time, will not prove a thing in king *Alfred*'s time. A

three weeks court is a matter of private property of a lord of the fee: a county court or hundred court relates to the public buſineſs of that great diviſion. the one is held by the poſſeſſor of the eſtate, the other was held by the biſhop, the earl or alderman; the one to recognize ſuch as owe ſuit to a lord; the other to hear and determine judicially, matters of controverſy, between party and party. But ſuppoſing theſe things were not different, it would not prove, what he has undertaken to prove, that there was a croſs here in *Alfred*'s time. nor was it neceſſary, a croſs ſhould be where a hundred court was kept, much leſs where a three week's court was kept. and were he even able to prove that, could we thence conclude, that this was the caſe of *Roiſes* croſs. So that after all this flouriſh of his weapons, he drops his point with theſe words, *The hundred court had been held here from its firſt eſtabliſhment in the time of* Alfred, *when there was* no doubt, *a croſs here.*

This is his *quod erat demonſtrandum*; *no doubt*, here was a croſs here. we have no doubt to ſay, that he has not prov'd one tittle of what he undertook: and the whole he has given us, like his foregoing reaſon, is no more to the purpoſe, than if he had read us a page out of the golden legend. but I have reaſon to conclude, that it does not, in the leaſt, appear, either that there was any hundred court kept here, or that there was any town here, or any croſs at all, much leſs *Roiſes* croſs, in *Saxon* times: but quite the contrary.

Our champion produces a III. *reaſon*, as he calls it, to prove the high antiquity of the croſs: of lady *Roiſia*'s croſs, before lady *Roiſia*'s time. This he deduces from the *foundation* of the priory of *Roiſton*. This muſt be own'd to be a deep reaſon. In order to found it, he aſſerts a falſity, *viz.* that I maintain, that lady *Roiſia* ſet up the croſs here, about the end of the reign of king *Henry* II. " Now, ſays he, the priory of *Roiſton* being " founded between 1170 and 1180, it could not take the ſtile and title " of *de cruce Rohey's*. There could not poſſibly be any length of time, to " make the ſaid croſs of ſuch known eminency and repute, as that the " priory ſhould take its ſtile and title from it. this would be to ſet forth " an *ignotum per ignotius*. So that 'tis both juſt and reaſonable to con- " clude, that the croſs was of remarkable antiquity and that it was " founded long before, the time of our author's lady *Roiſia*: even in the " *Saxon* age.

Mr.

Mr. *P*—— can't be content to take a ſcore or two of years, to make our croſs eminent enough, to denominate the priory: but he requires ſome hundreds, A priory built at the end of *Henry* II. time could not be nam'd from the croſs, unleſs that croſs was made in king *Alfred*'s time. Where is the reaſon and conſequence of all this? a familiar inſtance without any more words will ſhow the abſurdity of this reaſoning. the new church in the *Strand*, was built about 20 years ago. Suppoſe a friend of mine lodges over againſt the new church in the *Strand*: would it be ridiculous, ſhould I direct to him there, becauſe this church has not been built two or three hundred years, whereby it ſhould acquire celebrity enough and antiquity enough ,for ſuch a direction? ſo far is the contrary, that it has been call'd the new church in the *Strand*, for theſe 20 years. Nor would his argument be of any force, was he right in his aſſertion, but it is built on a falſe repreſentation. I have no where ſaid, that lady *Roiſia* built her croſs, at the latter end of *Henry* II. reign;

*male verum examinat omnis corruptus judex*—— Hor.

So far from that, that p. 45. I expreſly ſay, ſhe enter'd on her retirement occaſionally, at this her ſepulchral chapel, about 1170. which is a ſcore of years before *Henry* II. death. p. 47 of my book, I ſuggeſt, that by degrees and in after times, from the founding of the croſs, ſhe cauſed a cell, or little houſe to be built at the place, where the croſs was: and then, the catacomb to be dug in the pure chalk. So that its evident, my meaning was, that ſhe erected the croſs, years before her retirement at *Nuſells*, after the death of her ſecond husband. the eſtate of *Nuſells* was her firſt husband's. ſo that ſhe had been in poſſeſſion of it, from about the year 1130. at which time I conjecture was her firſt marriage. She might then build the croſs 50 years before the end of *Henry* II. reign, the falſe aſſumption of Mr. P—— and fifty years is abundantly ſufficient, or even half that time, to give an eminency to a croſs, built by a great lady, in an open, uninhabited champaign, as this country certainly then was: or there would have been no occaſion for the croſs.

Beſides, it well became the founders of the priory, who held their eſtates under her, at leaſt by the gift of her predeceſſors, by that kind of tenure which our anceſtors called boke-land, to denominate it from the croſs of ſo great a lady: a lady to them; lady paramount of their manor. both *Euſtace de Merc*'s anceſtor, and *Ralf de Rouceſter*'s father *Thomas* had their eſtates in *Nuſells*, given them by *Eudo Dapifer*. nor could they

well give it any other name; there being nothing remarkable beſides, upon that ſpot, to name it from. All this would be ſtill much ſtronger from my ſuppoſition, of her frequenting this place for her devotions; of her making the ſepulchral chapel in the chalk under ground; of her being buryed there. This being where two very great roads met, could not fail of acquiring a celebrity ſufficient to denominate the place; and the monaſtery, built at the end of *Henry* II. time: without having recourſe to king *Alfred*'s time. but our author's ſpectacles admit of no medium, they muſt needs make objects to him appear, as either too near at hand, or at too great a diſtance, to write intelligibly about them.

And thus have we gone through his three herculean reaſons. Let us reſt then, notwithſtanding what he has ſaid to the contrary, in the old notions concerning this place; that there was no croſs till lady *ROISIA* erected one, and then there was no town, not a houſe on the ſpot. After her death, when the priory was founded, inns began to be built. This is what *Camden*, *Weaver*, *Chauncy*, *Salmon* and all other authors affirm, that ever wrote upon the place.

From pretended reaſons and demonſtrations, Mr. *P*—— plays a ſmall game, p. 9. by way of overplus, he adds, our antiquary here, " ſays he, " has run himſelf into difficulties, out of which it will not be eaſy to ex- " tricate himſelf. He fixes the death of lady *Roiſia* and that of king " *Henry* II. to the year 1189, and ſays, the priory was built immediately " after her death, and on account of her living here; and adds, it was a " compliment to king *Henry* II. to dedicate the monaſtery to *Thomas a* " *Becket*: as the king himſelf had done by *Waltham* abby.

His lean argument is this, the priory could not be dedicated to *Becket*, as a compliment to the king, becauſe, probably, the king was dead before the priory was founded. and then with intolerable diſingenuity, he affirms, that I ſay, king *Henry* II. encourag'd this priory at *Roiſton*. the whole is diſingenuity, he makes me ſay what he pleaſes, by wreſting my words and miſinterpreting my meaning, and then argues from them.

Firſt he affirms a falſity, that I fix'd the death of lady *Roiſia* and the death of king *Henry* II. to the year 1189. on the contrary, p. 48. I ſay expreſly, I can't fix the year ſhe dyed in; but apprehend, her death and the building of the priory, muſt fall about the end of king *Henry*'s reign;

reign ; that the priory was begun, either in Lady *Roiſia*'s life time, or exceeding near it. and this is all that any body can ſay about it, and unqueſtionably is near the truth. he ought to be laught at, for his unaccurate way of writing, that I *fix'd* the death of king *Henry* II. to the year 1189, as if it were a problem : when ſo great a king dy'd ?

Again he affirms another falſity, that I make king *Henry* II. an encourager of the building this priory at *Roiſton*. this he gathers (and he alone could be diſingenuous enough to gather it, and impoſe upon the reader) from my words, p. 51.

" Lady *ROISIA*'s piety at this place, did not end with her life, " but immediately after, her ſucceſſors in *Newſel*'s mannor, founded the " priory, cloſe to her cell and croſs. It had canons regular, and was de- " dicated to *Thomas a Becket*, as then was the *faſhion* : for *king* Henry II. " *very much encourag'd it*. He chang'd the old foundation of *Waltham* " abby, for canons regular, and rededicated it, to *Thomas a Becket*.

He notoriouſly miſinterprets my words. my meaning manifeſtly was, (and the grammatical conſtruction of my words aſcertains it) that king *Henry* II. encourag'd the *faſhion* of dedicating churches and religious honſes to *Thomas a Becket* : and he makes me to mean, that king *Henry* II. encourag'd the priory at *Roiſton*. I have ſpoken of this whole affair, as it becomes an antiquary, with modeſty, where we have no poſitive evidence or record ; I make ſuch a reaſonable approach to times, as can be expected. He writes with chicanery. I ask, where is the abſurdity of my ſaying, it was a compliment to *Henry* II. to dedicate a church to *Thomas a Becket*, at the very end of his reign? nay tho' he were actually dead. There were monaſterys and churches dedicated to *Thomas a Becket* in *Richard* I. time. and ſtill it would not be improper, to ſay, they were ſo dedicated in compliment to *Henry* II. King *Richard* dedicated a church in the holy land to *Becket*. nay *Favin* tells you, he inſtituted an order there, of knights of S. *Thomas*. and their enſign was a white eſcallop upon a red croſs. was not this a compliment to his father ? they that know common manners or common modes of ſpeech, muſt allow it.

But further, I ſay, it might be a compliment to the King to dedicate a priory to *Thomas a Becket*, tho' the king was dead, which they at *Newſels* might be ignorant of. Suppoſe they founded the priory in 1188.

or in the ſpring of the year, 1189. the V. ides of *july* 1188. the king went over ſea, to oppoſe the perpetual diſquietudes which the *French* king gave him, and he never return'd again. The continuation of the hiſtory of *Croyland*, 1189. informs us, a falſe rumer was ſpread, in *England*, that the king was dead, beyond ſea; which might hinder the people from believing the truth, when firſt reported. 'Tis not at all improbable, that the actual dedication might be, when the king was dead, and they not acquainted with it. for poſts and conveyances of news was then not ſo regular and expeditious, as now. But ſuppoſing even the utmoſt that our antagoniſt can deſire, that king *Richard* was actually in the throne, and in *England*, when the priory was founded; there is no impropriety in ſaying, it was done in compliment to *Henry* II. any more than in honour to *Thomas a Becket*. The words compliment and honour being of the ſame import.

P. 10. Mr. *P*—— ſays, " becauſe king *Henry* II. rededicated the abby " of *Waltham* in 1177. therefore 'tis reaſonable to think, the priory of " *Roiſton* was founded at that time," this he ſays to contradict me: for there cannot poſſibly be the leaſt conſequence. He might as well ſay, that becauſe *Henry* II founded a magnificent abby in *Dublin*, call'd *Thomas Court*, in memory of *Becket*: therefore the priory of *Roiſton* was then and *there* founded.

Then he proceeds to argue, from king *Richard*'s charter to the priory of *Roiſton*, wherein the king grants them a fair and weekly market, according to the libertys of the markets and fairs granted to the canons of *Dunſtable*. " If then, ſays he, the priory of *Roiſton* was founded in 1189. " and that immediately upon the erecting of it, the town of *Roiſton* aroſe, " give me leave to congratulate him in the name of all that good town- " ſhip, in thus erecting in the ſpace of a few months, ſo goodly a town, as " this muſt be allowed to be, thus qualified for a weekly market, and an " annual fair, for a whole week, which ſuppoſes it to be a place of con- " courſe, and trade, capable of good reception, and all this to have ſprung " up, in the ſpace of a few months, from the death of *Roiſia* in 1189, to " the date of king *Richard*'s charter, *november* 9. in the ſaid year. Such " an architect as this, muſt merit to be in commiſſion for the *Georgia* co- " lony, or the bridge of *Weſtminſter*.

A genuine

A genuine piece of ſcarronade and buffoonry this, as void of reaſon, as good manners! as before, ſo now, he founds his argument on a falſity, and argues from it. He makes me to ſay, that I fix the death of *Roiſia* in 1189. which I no where do, only ſuggeſt, that it was about the end of *Henry* II. reign; therefore 'tis as likely to be in 1188. But as to his argument deduc'd from king *Richard*'s charter of market and fair granted to the priory: if he had underſtood old cuſtoms, or the nature of things, he would have ſeen, that it proves directly againſt his purpoſe. for granting a market and fair, does by no means prove it a place of concourſe and trade, capable of good reception; but rather quite the contrary. for had it been ſo *goodly a town*, it would certainly have had markets and fairs before. The truth is, theſe priveleges were obtain'd, in order to make places populous; and it was an uſual cuſtom, for religious houſes to ſeek for them, to obtain this end. Do we not know, ſuch grants for fairs are made to open, uninhabited fields, where there is not one ſingle houſe? for inſtance *Sturbich* fair near *Cambridge*, held for a fortnight with an immenſe concourſe of people: and in *Lincolnſhire*, *Stowgreen* fair, as much frequented for one day: *Wayhill* fair, S. *Anns* hill fair, *in Wiltſhire*, *Boughton* green, *Northamptonſhire*, and many more kept upon open downs,

Obſerve further from king *Richard*'s charter to the priory of *Roiſton*, wherein the king grants them a fair and a weekly market, 'according to the libertys of the markets and fairs granted to the canons of *Dunſtable*. In Mr. *Camden*'s *Britannia* p. 289. beſt edit. 1695. we learn, our kings grandfather *Henry* I. built a houſe at *Dunſtable*, and the priory and the town. Therefore he granted his charter of markets and fairs to the canons there, in order to make it a populous town, juſt as king *Richard* did, to the canons of *Roiſton*: not becauſe they were populous towns, as Mr. *P*—— wildly imagines. it is exactly a parallel caſe. and *Dunſtable* ſtanding on the interſection of the *Watlinſtreet* and *Ikenilſtreet*: as *Roiſton* on the *Hermenſtreet*, and *Ikenil*, they both ſoon became conſiderable towns, therefrom.

I ought gratefully to acknowledge his kind favour toward me, in thinking I merit to be in commiſſion for *Georgia* colony, or the bridge of *Weſtminſter*. in return I think he highly deſerves a Poſt; to be hiſtoriographer to the wooden bridge at *Putney*.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

*Ingeniis non ille favet, plauditque ſepultis.*
*noſtra ſed impugnat, nos, noſtraque lividus odit.* Hor.

*Mr.* P——s IV. *reaſon obliterated,* Roiſia *a common name, now a critical one. His hermitage in the middle of a town. The* Beauchamp *arms illuminated. The origin of coat-armor. The beginning of the croiſades. The figure of* Hugh de Beauchamp *defended, by arms.*

MR. *P*—— gives us a IV. reaſon, for the antiquity of *Roiſies* croſs. p. 11. This he does from the very fountain of criticiſm: in this manner.

" The name of it, *Roheys* or *Roheyſia*, *Roiſia*, (or as our antiquary " ſays) plain *Roſe* in *Engliſh*, cannot anſwer to *Roheys* or *Roheſia*: *there* " *ſeems to be* ſomething of *Britiſh* or *Saxon* derivation in the name. At " the bottom of the page, he adds this profound note. *Probably ſome old* " Britiſh *or* Saxon *ſaint, on this* Erminſtreet, *near to a place call'd,* Ro- " heyney *or* Roheenia, *founded by* Conan, *duke of* Britany *and* Richmond.

This is the whole of our author's IV. reaſon. but was ever any thing like it offer'd ſeriouſly to the public, which amounts to nothing more, than his *ipſe dixit*, and *there ſeems to be* ſomething, he knows not what. and this is ſufficient ground for his writing *an anſwer to, or remarks on*, &c.

" *Roheys* croſs or *Roheyſia*, ſays he, cannot anſwer to *Roheys* or *Roheſia*. " but *there ſeems to be* ſomething of *Britiſh* or *Saxon* derivation in the " name. What a knack has he for etymology! probably ſome old *Britiſh* " or *Saxon* ſaint, *Roheeney* or *Roheenia*. I anſwer; all the world knows, that *Roiſia*, was a very common feminine appellation, in theſe times we

are

are writing of, *that* of the Plantagenets of *Anjou*: for inſtance. *Roiſia* daughter of *Berengar*, king of *Lombardy*, wife of *Arnold* II. earl of *Flanders*. From theſe our lady *Roiſia* deſcended. *Roiſia* wife of *Eudo Dapifer*, from whom her husband *Mandevile* is deſcended. *Roſa* wife of *Everard de Ros*, daughter of *William Trusbut*. *Roiſia* wife to *Richard de Lucy*, our lady's relation. *Roiſia* his daughter married to *Fulbert de Dover* of *Chilham*. *Roſia* daughter of *Gilbert Bland* wife of *Robert de Valons*. *Camd.* p. 369. *Roiſia* wife of *Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare*. *Roiſia* his daughter married to *Gilbert de Grant*, who founded *Rufford* abby 1148. Theſe are progenitors of lady *ROISIA*'s ſon in law *Fitzwooth*. Innumerable more to be met with; but thus am I oblig'd to be tedious, to overthrow unreaſonable aſſertions! when I have ſhewn (in conjunction with all authors that have wrote upon the place) who this lady was, her father, mother, brothers, ſiſter's, husband's, children, *&c.* and the hiſtory of their actions, as far as was neceſſary, and that ſhe owned this very eſtate, and that ſhe made the croſs here: now comes Mr. *P*—— with his admirable *acumen*, and ſmells out, with a *the e ſeems to be*, that ſhe was a *Saxon* or *Britiſh* ſaint. I wonder he did not find her in the golden legend, by ſome fine ſtroke of criticiſm. But muſt plain hiſtorical evidence be blown away with ſuch whimſical ſurmiſes, for which he has not the leaſt ſhew of foundation? this is our author's method of writing. and that I may clear off the dirt he has thrown on me, I am oblig'd to follow him in this dirty road: and if any ſticks on him, he muſt thank himſelf for it. He thinks there is ſomewhat very myſterious in the word *Roheys*, and therefore he fixes a circumflex over it, as a moſt remarkable affair. He ſees a viſion of ſaint *Roheenia*, made from the little village of *Rowney*, 15 miles off, and a mile out of this ſame *Hermenſtreet* way. This ſaint *Roheenia* of *Britiſh* or *Saxon*, original of his own making, is ſuffered to quit purgatory for a while, and become the foundreſs of *Roiſton*. whilſt that real and good lady *Roiſia*, is quite diſcarded from that honour, and from her very being: this is the part of a critical diſtinguiſher, who can make any perſon for any perſon. 'tis a ſhame to purſue this any farther.

We have done with his IV. doughty reaſons, which are no better than his *ægri ſomnia*, delirious dreams. Now p. 12. he begins to talk of the cell and oratory; and fills his book with pages quoted out of mine, I cannot follow his example, of tranſcribing his: having an utter averſion to ſuch

malevolence. Therefore I ſhall put his objections in a fair and ſhort light, and anſwer 'em as conciſely as poſſible. They are all of a piece with what is gone before : I need not be prolix.

P. 13. from cells and their oratorys annexed, being in *Saxon* times (as his method is) he infers or *proves*, that our ſepulchral chapel at *Roiſton*, was in *Saxon* times. juſt as before he had prov'd ; becauſe there were croſſes and towns in *Saxon* times, therefore, here was a croſs and town at *Roiſton*, in *Saxon* times. the logicians ſay, *a poſſe ad eſſe non valet argumentum.* He ſays too, this may reaſonably be allowed, from the very name of that capital mannor of *Neucells*: as he affects to ſpell it, the more to favour his notion. Can any thing more abſurd enter into our imagination, than that the capital mannor and manſion of *Neuſels* (as it ought to be wrote) which is two miles off, ſhould take its name from our ſubterraneous chapel here at *Roiſton?* and yet he ſays, p. 14. This is a proof of our ſepulchral chapel being many ages, before our lady *Roiſia.* by the ſame far fetcht reaſon he proves our chapel the *heremitagium de Barkway* three miles off. Indeed all his proofs are *quidlibet ex quolibet*, concluſions from diſſonant premiſſes, that have no relation to the thing in debate. I look'd over the original liedger book, of the priory, a velum manuſcript. *There* it is always written *Neuſels : Newſelys, Neuſeles.* it means in old *French*, *Newhall.*

" Then he ſays, ſome one or more hermit (as the road and thorough-
" fare here was ſo great) was here *ſtation'd*, to be always at hand, ready
" to attend on travellers, which muſt undoubtedly be an office, more be-
" longing to and more becoming, ſome religious man and hermit, than
" any religious woman, or lady *Roiſia* whatever.

Here he runs into that miſerable abſurdity, of making our chapel a common hermit's cell, not of a ſolitary and ſingle, but of many jolly laughing hermits, then which nothing can be more abſurd. Abſurd *in hypotheſi*, to place a hermit's cell or chapel in the midſt of a great town ; hermits to wait in a great thoroughfare, to make this well frequented by travellers who went down here, with their boots and ſpurs and great coats in numbers, as he would have it, to ſay their prayers. He himſelf believes the preſent paſſage to be an original one, and the way for common people going down to this chapel : a ſlender woman indeed may with dexterity

and

and uſe, deſcend into it: but with what ſenſe can he think a concourſe of people went up and down it? and then he gravely tells the reader, a hermit or two officiated here, for the uſe of the travellers, with more decency, than our lady *ROISIA*. As if I had inſinuated any ſuch office. As if I had not all along maintain'd, that our lady did it for her private uſe, and for the place of her interment. But to ſum up all, our author among all his old reading, ought to know, that they would not ſuffer publick ſervice to be ſaid, in theſe oratorys, ſo near a church. See Mr. *Lewis's Thanet*. p. 81.

P. 15. After we have had a great deal of our authors *proofs*, he now reſumes a *demonſtration*, that lady *Roiſia* had no part in carving one particular piece of imagery therein, which is the figure I have mark'd n°. I. in my III. table, with the coat of arms; which I ſay, repreſents *Hugh de Beauchamp*, the father of our lady's ſecond husband. This he does, by an artifice he has made uſe of before now, running me into fancied abſurditys. but they are abſurditys only for want of his underſtanding them, or for want of honeſty to own it. I ſhall clear up this matter, and ſufficiently overthrow his demonſtration in proper place, when I treat of this figure, in ix. cap. But we may remark his odd way of writing, ſaying, p. 16. that I *fix* the *jeruſalem* peregrinations to the year 1177. and quotes 33d. of my pages, at bottom to prove it. which page does not relate to it. and the *Croiſades* are *æra's* too remarkable, to require my fixing them.

# CHAP. IV.

——— *juvat immemorata ferentem*
*ingenuis oculiſque legi, manibuſque teneri.* Hor.

*Four pretended errors of dates rectify'd. Mr.* P——s *real ones detected. His divinity ſkill. His architectonic. The* heremitagium de Barkway *fictitious. A diſputation about* Roiſes *croſs again. His notion of* Downham *hermitage erroneous. S.* Pega's *cell at* Croyland, *the origin of the univerſitys of* Cambridge *and* Stamford. *Of the city* Granta. *Of the city* Durobrivis. *Of the* Roman *navigation through our fens.* Erith *hermitage by* Ely.

WE have in the II. preceding chapters (if I be not miſtaken) ſufficiently overthrown my antagoniſts IV. fundamental *reaſons*, and *proofs*. They are intended to ſhew the high, the *Saxon*, or *Britiſh* antiquity of *Roiſton* town, croſs and hermitage, as he calls our ſepulchral chapel. all theſe we have ſhewn to be errant chimæras.

I made lady *ROISIA* a perſon of good ſenſe and diſpoſition; who for near 20 years before her death, meditated on, and look'd toward that great change; by preparing the place of her interment, making it the ſcene of her frequent retirement and devotion. Mr. *P*—— makes her a ſaint of higher antiquity, any thing rather than what I aſſert. And I aſſert nothing but wherein I have the expreſs concurrence of multitudes of authors; all authors that ever wrote upon the town, who had the beſt qualifications and opportunitys of finding out the truth, and without difference agree with one another, and I with them.

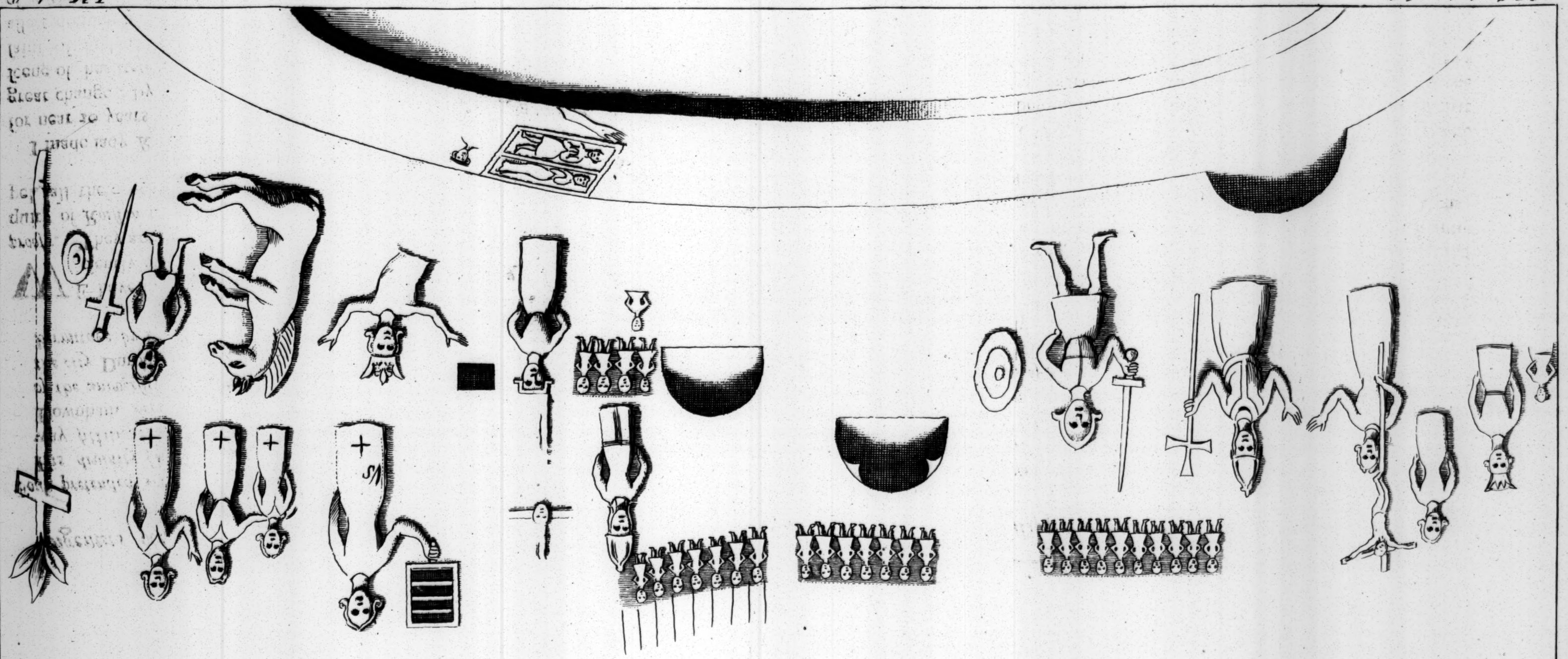
Mr. *P*—— is the jſmael of all champions and combats the world. but I have thrown down his foundations, I might reaſonably hope my work is over.

The south side of Cadiz ROTSTA'S [illegible]



W. Stukeley del.

W. Stukeley del. J. Mynde sc.



TAB. II.
page 28.

The South Side of Lady ROISIA'S Oratory at Scoulton. 19. Oct. 1742.

over. Nevertheleſs I mean to give a further puſh, not for the ſake of further confuting him, but to take the opportunity he has forc'd upon me, of ſtrengthening my own hypotheſis. I call it by no other name, not pretending to mathematical certainty in theſe ſtudys.

In his 18. p. he begins with finding fault (according to his cuſtom) with my genealogy; he ſays, it does not tally with my account of the family, in the body of the book. he inſtances, in the table " *Alberic de Vere*, lady " *Roiſia*'s father dyed 1140. in the body of the book tis ſaid, he dyed " 1143. in the table, *Geffery Magnavile*, ſecond ſon of lady *Roiſia* died " in 1176. in the body of the book, in 1167. in the table *William de Mag-* " *navile*, third ſon of the lady *Roiſia*, died in 1189. in the book 1190.

A heavy charge this, and which I might anſwer by ſaying, what I wrote, was from different authors, who give different dates of things. it was a matter no way material to my chief ſubject, to be preciſe in. I had no pariſh regiſter to aſcertain the facts by. But to ſhew Mr. *P*——s ungenerous proceeding, I will give a more particular anſwer, to theſe three great miſtakes, which he and his friends have with unwearied diligence at laſt picked out, to their great comfort.

How handſomly does that judicious hiſtorian *Daniel* write, like a true proteſtant, in his preface! " the computation of times, ſays he, is not of " ſo great moment. Figures are eaſily miſtaken, the 10th of *july*, and " the 6th of *auguſt*, with a year over, or under, makes not a man the " wiſer, in the buſineſs then done.

Now as to the firſt error he lays on my back, *Albery de Vere* lady *Roiſia*'s father, in *Millers*'s catalogue, is ſaid to dye 1140. and ſo in the manuſcript genealogy of the family, in the archives of the duke of *Ancaſter*. *John Abbot* of *Peterborough* ſays, it was in 1141. others ſay, 1143. which I believe to be the truth. but I recommend it to Mr. *P*—— to ſtudy it further, and then he will be inoffenſively employ'd: as for the uſe of it, 'tis left upon his own hands. Thus *Weaver monum.* p. 725. ſays, from the book of *Chateris*, that *Alan Rufus*, the I. earl of *Richmond*, dy'd 1093. to which agree the old chronicle of S. *Edmundsbury*, and *Milles* in *cat. hon.* but the annals of *Margan*, quoted by Mr. *Gale*, *prof. hon. Richm* p. 7. ſays, he dy'd 1089. as alſo the hiſtory of S. *Mary*'s abby, *York*.

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*York.* This is an inſtance of like uncertainty in dates, for a malicious critic to nibble at.

The ſecond error charg'd upon me is this. in the table *Geffery de Magnavile* died in 1176. in the body of the book in 1167. if he had had a grain of good nature, he would kindly have corrected this with his pen; as an obvious tranſpoſition of two figures, by the printer's miſtake, no error of mine. He that had ſcan'd my book over, with ſo ſevere an eye, did very well know, how to amend it, from two places. He ſhould have made it 1167. in my account of the family, p. 17, I tell him in plain words, *Geffery de Magnavile* died without iſſue the 12th of the calends of *november* 1167. in an expedition againſt the *Welſh*. Dr. *Salmon*'s printer has made the ſame miſtake as mine, p. 140: *Eſſex*. Again from my p. 25. where I ſay expreſly, this *Geffery Magnavil* died at the latter end of the year 1167. So that this accuſation is an inſtance of the greateſt diſingenuity poſſible:

His third error charg'd on me, *William de Magnavile* died in 1189. in the book he died 1190. 'Tis very plain, our authors malice is run to the lees, to lay hold on ſuch an occaſion to ſhew it, to eke out a catalogue or liſt of Dr. *Stukeley*'s errors amounting to n°. III. in making out his pariſh regiſter every year, he might have inform'd himſelf, that hundreds of his pariſhioners that happen to die, between the 1. *january* and 25. march, may equally be ſaid to die in two years, the preceding and ſubſequent. he muſt be little acquainted with writers in genealogical matters, that makes this a fault.

And now I have clear'd off his two pretended miſtakes, I rejoin upon him, who has ſo many *errata* of his own, at the end of his book, beſide innumerable others: and deſire he would correct two of his dates, and his genealogy, p. 69. he makes *Maud* wife of *William Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*, to be the daughter of *Richard Fitzjohn*; but in truth, ſhe was the eldeſt daughter of *John Fitzgeffery*, lord of *Kyrtling* in *Kent*, and ſiſter of *Richard Fitzjohn*. Again, p. 17. he makes this *William de Beauchamp* to die in 1298. He really died *june* 5. 1299. at *Elmeſly*, as *Milles* has it.

P. 19. He treats of the ſepulchral chapel its ſelf, which as before, he continues to make a hermitage chapel, for two or more hermits to officiate in. He thinks it was in uſe, 'till the ſuppreſſion, by *Henry* VIII. that here were five altars dedicated to as many ſaints ; that religious travellers enter'd at the narrow well, from the croſs, to hear divine ſervice, and perform their devotions. He takes it to be the *heremitagium de Barkway*, in the original grant.

All this I have, to any reaſonable man's conviction, ſufficiently refuted before. indeed, the whole he ſays upon this head, to any perſon that has ſeen the place, appears at firſt ſight highly impoſſible. 'Tis plainly and literally impoſſible, for travellers to go down our well; and all this while our author is mightily in pain, for poor lady *Roiſia* going down here; it was indecent in her, as a woman ; and a text of ſcripture, muſt be pull'd in, as a buttereſs, to his egregious oddity. " Neither ſhalt thou go up by " ſteps unto my altar. A *Jewiſh* ordinance apply'd to chriſtians. A ſpecimen of our authors divinity ! becauſe a *Jewiſh* prieſt ſhould not go up by ſteps, therefore an *Engliſh* lady muſt not go down, by ſteps.

Poor lady *Roiſia* who, he ſays, had now buryed her firſt husband 43 years, could not go down this place with decency, when *ex hypotheſi*, no body went down there, but herſelf. if he was guilty of giving us a real argument. I would tell him, his argument proves too much. For I do not apprehend his two or three hermites here, wore breeches.

He who has ſo highly commended me for an architect, muſt give me leave to find fault with *his* skill in the ſcience. He thinks, that cavity in our chapel which I call the grave, and certainly was ſuch, muſt be intended only, for a foundation of a brick-ſtair-caſe made in the place, for his hermites to aſcend and deſcend in. I ſay 'tis needleſs to dig into a chalk-cliff for a foundation: and 'tis impoſſible, in this compaſs, to build a brick ſtair-caſe, as he projects.

At the bottom of p. 21. Mr. *P*—— gives us one of his learned notes or comments upon his own text purporting, that in the grant from king *Henry* VIII. to the family of *Cheſter*, there is mention made *inter alia*, *heremitagium de Barkway* : by which he ſuppoſes our chapel is meant, and this is, in his opinion, a ſtrong proof, that it is in the pariſh of *Barkway*.

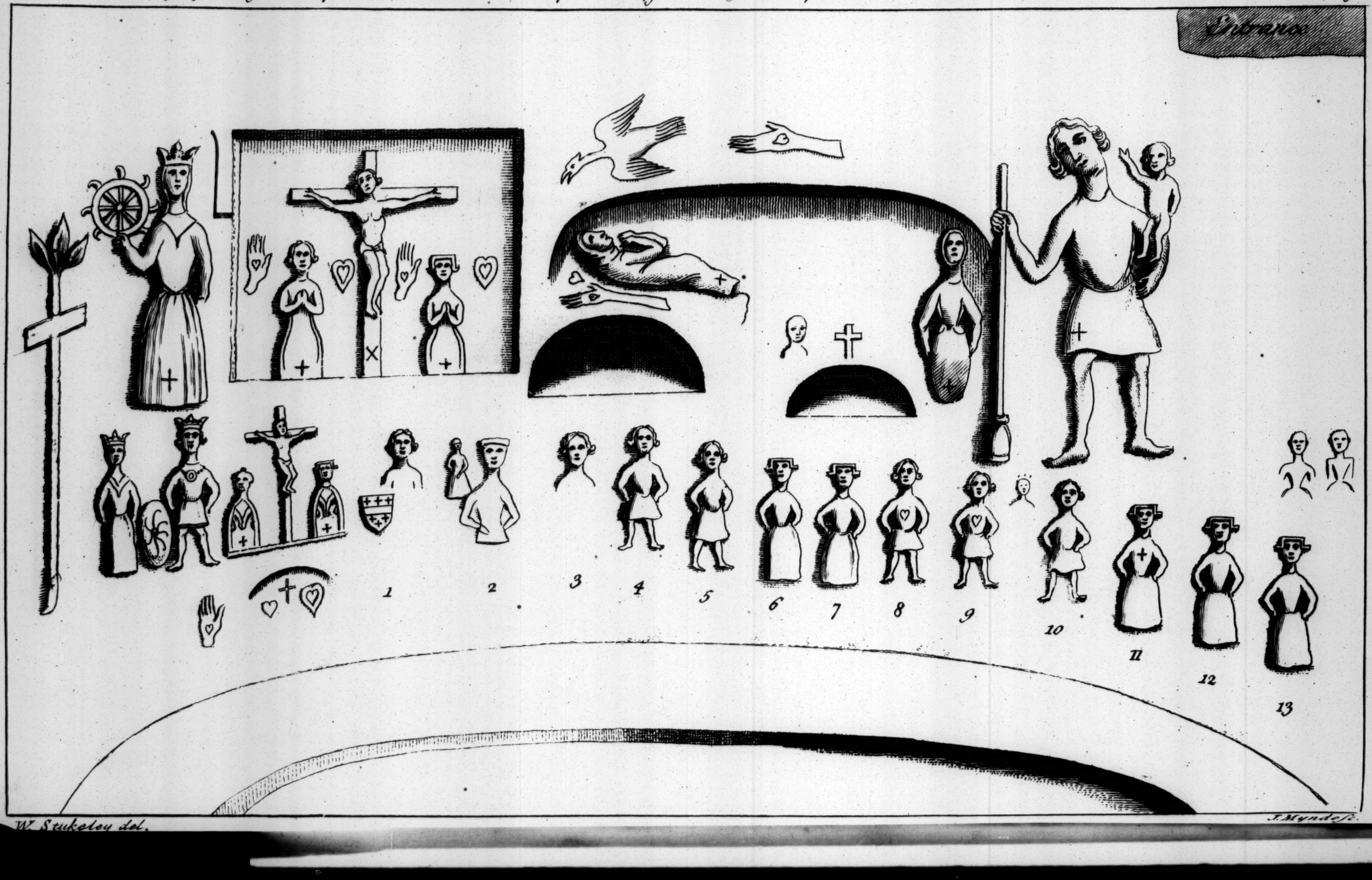
What

What an abyſs of inconſiſtency is here! that a hermitage under the very market-place of *Roiſton* ſhould in *Henry* VIII. time be called *Heremitagium de Berkway*. Before there was a ſingle houſe in *Roiſton*, it could not have been ſo denominatd, but would have been ſtyled *Heremitagium apud crucem Roheſiæ*, as the priory was. had it been in being, before lady *ROISIA* ſet up the croſs, it would have been denominated from *Newſels*, which lies between it and *Barkway*. and was it *ever* with any propriety ſaid to be in *Barkway* pariſh, yet 'tis impoſſible, that with any propriety, it can be called the hermitage of *Barkway*, in *Henry* VIII. time: after the town had long been a pariſh of its ſelf.

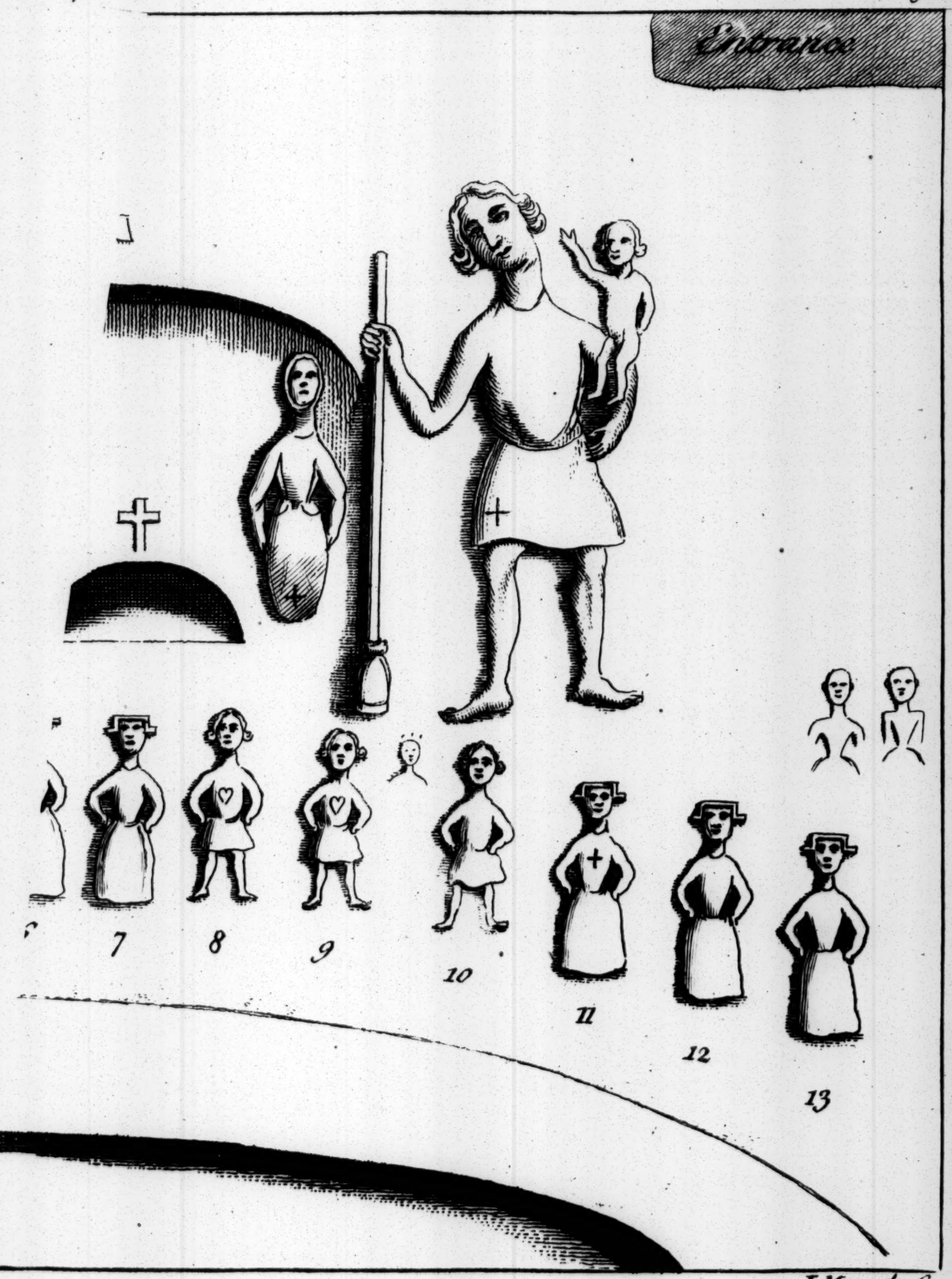
In p. 9. he gives us an account of a manuſcript deed of the prior of *Roiſton*, which he ſuppoſes to be made in the beginning of *Henry* III. time, or before; he ſtyles himſelf prior *de cruce Roheys*; being the uſual ſtyle of the prior and convent, uſed by way of eminency, as a croſs of great fame and antiquity. Nay he proceeds as before to aſſert it, to be even of *Saxon* antiquity. Still in *Henry* VIIIs. time. This very place muſt be denominated from *Barkway*.

He does this, thinking to run me into an abſurdity. For in that 9. p. he miſrepreſents my hypotheſis, concerning this place (and would have the reader believe) that I aſſert lady *ROISIA* made the croſs here about the end of the reign of *Henry* II. when it could not be of celebrity enough to denominate the priory, founded about that time. whereas my notion is different. I have no where ſaid, that ſhe built the croſs at the end of *Henry* II. time. as I have ſufficiently argued before in contradiction to falſe repreſentation. Again he is as contradictory to himſelf as to me. for p. 16. he tells us, 'tis my doctrine that the croſs was made after 1170. which is falſe, and this ſame falſity he had told us before in p. 2. ſo that in three of his pages he makes me tell three different ſtorys. p. 2. that I eſtabliſh 1170 for the building of the croſs. p. 16. about 1177. p. 9. about the end of king *Henry* IId's reign, which was 1188. all equally of his own forging: for I have ſaid no ſuch thing: She moſt probably built the croſs here, long before ſhe made this ſepulchral chapel. But be that when it would: ſuppoſing only the croſs was prior to the priory, it would be a thing of note, in an open wide country, ſufficient to denominate the priory. He himſelf p. 6. makes many hundreds and towns to take their names from croſſes, and rightly. then why ſhould not the priory, why not *Roiſton*?

My




*W. Stukeley del.* *F. Mynde sc.*




BSL

My opinion was evident enough, by what I quoted from the excellent Mr. *Camden* at the beginning of my book, p. 3.

" *Roiſton* a town of much note, but not antient, as having riſen *ſince* " the *Norman* conqueſt. for in thoſe days, there was a famous lady *R O-* " *I S I A* who erected a croſs upon the road ſide, in this place. From " thence for many years called *Roiſes* croſs. 'till ſuch time as *Euſtace* " *de Marc* founded juſt by it a ſmall monaſtery, to the honour of St. *Tho-* " *mas.* Upon this occaſion, inns began to be built, and by degrees, it " came to be a town, which inſtead of *Roiſes* croſs, took the name of " *Roiſes* town, contracted into *Roiſton.*

After this declaration of our great antiquary's opinion : there was no occaſion for me to tieze mankind with an endleſs multiplication of conjectures, concerning the very year of lady *R O I S I A* erecting the croſs ; ſeeing we have no particular record to aſcertain it. He words it, like a great author *ſince* the *Norman* conqueſt, for in thoſe days, *&c.* i. e. *ſince* the *Norman* conqueſt. all mankind muſt underſtand this, with due latitude, except Mr. *P*—— whoſe buſineſs and ſtudyed purpoſe is, indiſcriminately to contradict every thing I ſay, either of my own, or from other authors. and I ſhall reckon it an honour to be contradicted, under the umbrage of Mr. *Camden.*

Mr. P—— in his p. 2. writes, " *Camden* aſcribes the foundation of the " croſs at *Roiſton*, to have been *about* the *Norman* conqueſt." Our antiquary (meaning me) deſcends a century lower, and maintains, " that " lady *Roiſia* who flouriſh'd in the reign of *Henry* II. was the foundreſs " of it, about the year 1170.

Here he miſrepreſents Mr. *Camden*, then myſelf. He thinks it is a point gain'd, if he can but make me contradict Mr. *Camden*. Mr. *Camden*'s word is *ſince* the *Norman* conqueſt. every unprejudic'd reader will naturaly underſtand, he means the early times of the *Norman* kings. He ſpeaks like a judicious author. but Mr. *P*—— out of his ſingular integrity, changes the word to *about* the *Norman* conqueſt. by which artifice, he may alter an author's meaning, to what he pleaſes.

Now to come to the point, I have no where aſſign'd the date of lady *ROISIA* ſetting up the croſs, I venture to ſuggeſt only, that it was about the year 1170, that ſhe commenc'd that retir'd life, which put her upon digging her ſubterranean chapel hard by it; which is the ſubject of all our diſputations. 'Tis natural to believe, the place was become ſomewhat famous at that time; from her having ſet up the croſs a good while ago: more ſo on account of her erecting a cell or little manſion cloſe by it, above ground.

P. 22. he gives an account of *Downham* bridge hermitage, where ſeveral prieſts lived together and officiated, being ſubject to the abby of *Ramſey*; who appointed one to be prior, another *capellanus*, &c. and by the convention which he recites, it appears, the abbot at pleaſure, ſent monks to reſide there; and that lay-brethren frequently lived at the place. all this he makes to be a parallel, to our caſe at *Roiſton*. but he is extremely miſtaken, who pretends to have ſo much knowledge of monkery. The real truth is, the name of the place is *the hermitage*, from ſome real hermitage which had been there in former days; but the thing itſelf, in the time he is writing of, was in no kind a hermitage, but a cell to *Ramſey* abby. in a word, it was a diminutive abby, or religious convent: where there was a chapel, properly ſpeaking; a chapel, built of ſtone, above ground, I mean chapels built of ſtone and above ground, for 'tis ridiculous to ſeek for chapels for publick uſe, under ground. So the great mitred abby of *Thorney* was originally called *Anchorige*, from an *Anchorite*, who firſt lived there.

I can inform him, and it will be doing ſome pleaſure to the reader at the ſame time, of a caſe parallel; to *Downham* hermitage I mean, not his fantaſtic one at *Roiſton*, which never was in being.

When I was a youth, and began to have an inclination to the ſtudys of antiquity, I viſited *Crowland* abby. and now once at leaſt in the year, my affairs calling me that way, I viſit it, with as much pleaſure as *Petrus Bleſenſis* formerly look'd back upon it: *antequam ſolidam terram tererem, in medio mariſco ſepties aut ſepius fræna reflecterem, veſtrum ſanctiſſimum monaſterium corpore reſpiciens, & intimo corde benedicens.*

About half a mile to the caſt of the moſt venerable remains of *Crowland* abby,

abby, near the road going thence into *Poſtland*, and on the right hand of the road, is a little hillock of riſing ground, now o'er grown with ſhrubs and weeds. to us that were brought up at *Cambridge:* and to us that live at *Stamford*, 'tis the moſt reſpectful piece of ground in the kingdom. in the year 1708. I ſaw a remnant of a chapel there, which was then turn'd to a dwelling houſe or cotage. it was called *Anchorige* houſe. in truth it was the ſpot of ground that *Pega* pitch'd upon, for her hermitage ; ſiſter to *Guthlake*. hither ſhe accompanyed him, and lived, whilſt he liv'd. and then ſhe retired to higher ground, the place called from her, *Peakirk*. where a little monaſtery was founded, the chapel ſtill remains, turn'd into a dwelling houſe.

When lord *Turketyl* became abbot of *Croyland*, *anno* 948. many learned men followed him thither, whom he plac'd in S. *Pega*'s cell ; built them a chapel, appointed one a prior, another, who was in orders, a chaplain : and they lived there together, both clerical and lay, exactly like a college ; and it was really a college ; and the grandmother of all the colleges and learning in the two moſt antient univerſitys of *Cambridge* and *Stamford*.

Here lord *Turketyl* made one *Reynford*, a man of much learning and honeſty, prior. and the children of the nobility were ſent thither, as to a School. and the lord abbot walk'd to the place himſelf every day, to examine, and encourage their proficiency in learning : as we largely read in *Ingulfus*'s hiſtory.

*Turketyl*, on his entering into religion, gave among others, two mannors to *Crowland* abby, *Cotenham* near *Cambridge*, and *Worthorp* near *Stamford*. Theſe two were the occaſion of founding the univerſitys of *Cambridge* and *Stamford*. in 975 this great and good abbot *Turketyl*, who had been the councellor of princes, but thought fit to enter into a religious life, dy'd and was buryed on the right ſide of the high altar. the tenants of the ſcite of the abby dug up his ſtone coffin among many others, lately. he left one *Egelric* a relation of his, ſteward to the monaſtery, a man of extraordinary learning : who after *Egelric* I. ſucceeded, as abbot of the place in 984. he gave 40 admirable original manuſcripts to the library over the cloiſters : and above 100 leſſer volumes of other tracts.

*Oſketil* ſucceeded him, a gentleman and a ſcholar. but in the year 1109. *Joffrid* became abbot, on the nomination of *Henry* I. a learned prince. *Joffrid* was the moſt learned of all the abbots his predeceſſors: who had gone through the whole courſe of erudition. he ſent ſome monks to *Cotenham*, who went to *Cambridge*: hiring a large barn, taught the ſciences publickly to a great number of ſcholars. Frier *Gilbert* was a doctor in divinity; *Odo* a grammarian and poet; *Teric* taught logic; *William* rhetoric and oratory. in the 2d year no barn nor church could hold the number of pupils. From this fountain *Cambridge* is deriv'd; originally from that cell of S. *Pega*, call'd *Anchorige*, from her; not from thoſe that liv'd a monaſtic life in it afterwards; which is the ſame caſe as the *Downham* hermitage mentioned by Mr. *P.*—— but how like to lady *ROISIA*'s chapel under ground! I ſhould affront the reader was I to leave it to his judgment. the things are altogether diſſimilar.

But further, abbot *Joffrid* ſent three monks to the mannor of *Worthorp*, near us. friar *Elſin* whom he conſtituted prior, was a man of great knowledge and learning; *Fregiſt* and *Harold*. theſe men were the occaſion of founding the univerſity of *Stamford*; as may be ſeen at large in my late friend *Pecks* account of the place. thus to two mannors given to *Crowland* abby, by lord *Turketyl*, two of our univerſitys owe their original. tho' before this, there were ſchools, as then call'd, in *Cambridge*, which *Foelix* biſhop of the eaſt angles, was the founder of, under the auſpices of *Sigebert*, king of the country: about *A. D.* 640.

At this time, the chief part of *Cambridge*, was on the north ſide of the river, which was the ſcite of the *Roman* city *Granta*, as I ſuppoſe it might have been called. I have, in company with Mr. *Roger Gale*, trac'd out the veſtiges of that city, without any difficulty; being an oblong ſquare, which was wall'd about and ditch'd. the *Roman* road which comes in a ſtrait line from *Huntington* hither, runs thro' the midſt of it, and ſo in a ſtrait line, thro' the town, by *Chriſt*'s college and *Emanuel*, to *Gogmagog* hills. where it paſſes by *Barlow* and *Haveril*, into *Eſſex*, probably to *Colcheſter*, the *Camulodunum colonia*. In the garden of *Pythagoras*'s ſchool, ſouth and weſt of that building, the trace of the ditch of the *Roman Granta* may eaſily be diſcerned; and the turn or angle of it, to which the angle of that building correſponds. Then the weſt ſide of the ditch runs on the outſide of the late Mr. *Ketils* houſe, and turns quite on the



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**Lord TVRCHETYL** *Abbot of* **Crowland,**
*from his Effigies carv'd in Stone,*
*in the front of the Abby.*

*W. Stukeley delin.* *G. Sculp.*

7 (3)

out ſide of the town, on the north; ſo round the outſide of the caſtle, through *Magdalen* college cloſe, which is the ſouth ſide of it. The terrace walk in that cloſe, is the *vallum* whereon the *Roman* wall ſtood. then it runs by the ſouth ſide of S. *Giles*'s church yard, to the garden of *Pythagoras*'s ſchool. the longeſt ſide of this city from eaſt to weſt was 2500 *Roman* feet. the ſhorteſt ſide from north to ſouth was 2000. ſo that the road cuts it in the middle. *William* the conqueror built his caſtle in the moſt eminent part of this city *Pythagoras*'s ſchool as call'd is a moſt noble monument of antiquity, being part of an antient college, before the conqueſt.

In walking about the plow'd fields, on the outſide of the caſtle, we took up great quantitys of fragments of bricks, tiles and *Roman* pottery ware. The late Dr *Warren* of *Trinity* hall ſhew'd us many *Roman* coyns found in the gardens by the caſtle and by Mr. *Ketils* houſe; together with *Roman* veſſels of fine red earth, with figures on them: and of glaſs. When this city was quite deſtroy'd, by the *Scots*, *Picts* and *Saxons*, *Cheſterton* aroſe on one ſide and *Grantcheſter* on the other; both taking their names from this city. There is indeed a *Roman* camp at *Cheſterton*: but that did not denominate the town: the word *Cheſter* being apply'd only to ſuch places, as were walled *Roman* towns. *Grantcheſter* and *Cheſterton* are nam'd from the ruin'd *Granta*; they being in its precincts, as *Cheſterton*, and *Aldwarkton* (commonly *Allerton*) are call'd from the ruin'd *Durobrivis*, on *Peterborough* river: it is in *Cheſterton* pariſh on the ſouth ſide of the river. *Caſter* on the north ſide the river: is a diſtinct place, and was wall'd about, but not the *Durobrivis*, as antiquarys have commonly thought.

The frequency of wall'd towns juſt here abouts, by *Durobrivis* is owing to the vicinity of the famous *Roman Cardike*, an artificial canal paſſing from *Peterborough* to *Lincoln*, thence by the *Fo'sdyke*, into the *Trent*. This carried the corn in *Roman* times, from the ſouthern countrys into the river *Ouſe*, to *York*; and thence to the garriſons lying upon the northern *Prætentura's*. The full conſideration of the *Cardike*, which before me has not been handled, is the very plan upon which the true knowledge of *Roman* antiquitys in *Brittain*, is founded. I ſent Mr. *Drake* ſome account of it, which he inſerted in his hiſtory of *York*, to which it appertains. Formerly I thought it began at *Peterborough*, but in the

year 1736. when viſiting Mr. *Roger Gale* at *Cotenham*, who was lord of the mannor of *Crowlands* there. which lord *Turketyl* gave to *Crowland* abby: I diſcovered, that the *Cardike* took its riſe from this very city of *Granta*, now *Cambridge*. that here were the *Roman* granarys to collect the corn in, from all theſe neighbouring, fine corn countrys, to be carried by this midland navigation to *Scotland*. In nothing more was the wiſdom and policy of the *Romans* ſeen, than in this affair. From the eaſtern gate of this city *Granta*, went a *Roman* road, now viſible, in a ſtrait line, call'd *king's Hedges*: made on purpoſe to accompany this artificial cut. for below *Cambridge*, a little above *Waterbeach*, begins our famous *Cardike*. The bed of this artificial cut is very plain from thence, quite acroſs the fen, through *Cotenham* pariſh, 'till it enters the old *Ouſe*. This river conveyed the corn boats, acroſs *Audrey* cauſey, to *Erithbridge*. *Audrey* cauſey is a *Roman* way originally, into the iſle of *Ely*. At *Erith bridge* in my time was a chapel called the hermitage, now pull'd down. I mean a chapel above ground, not as Mr. *P*—— would have it at *Roiſton*, under ground. This too as that at *Downham*, which he mentions, was at firſt the dreary ſeat of an hermit, which gave name to the place. in time, the chapel was built and frequented by the neighbours, and then two or three prieſts might officiate, as many as could be maintain'd thereby. Mr. *P*—— would call them improperly hermits. He does not diſtinguiſh between former and later times. Originally ſome hermit pitcht upon a melancholy angle to paſs his life, in ſolitude. afterward a chapel was built upon that ſpot, for the uſe of the town of *Erith*, that grew up in time. but it ſtill retain'd its old name of the hermitage, tho' the occaſion ceas'd. here the biſhop of *Ely*, when reſiding (before the reformation) in the neighbouring palace of *Somerſham*, uſed to ordain.

From *Erith* the corn boats paſs'd in an artificial cut, by *Ramſey*, to *Suards* dike, which took its preſent name from *Suardus* a *Saxon* earl, who at the time of the conqueſt, together with earl *Edwin* and *Morkar*, *Hereward le Wak*, *Egelwin* biſhop of *Durham*; *Frederic* abbot of S. *Albans*, &c. held the iſle of *Ely* againſt the conqueror. The vulgar have a report, that they ſcour'd this dike with their ſwords, and thence had its name. then the boats paſs'd by *Benwick*, where *Roman* coyns are frequently found; ſo by *Whitleſea* mere, or ſome cut made by the ſide of it, to *Horſey* bridge; where *Roman* coyns too are found, and ſo into *Peterborough* river. The continuation of the *Cardike*, through *Lincolnſhire* may be ſeen

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in my *Itinerarium*, Mr. *Moreton*'s *Northamptonſhire*, Mr. *Drake*'s hiſtory of *York*.

By this means, the corn of *Cambridgſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Huntingdonſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Rutland*, and *Lincolnſhire* came in. from the *Trent*, that of *Nottinghamſhire* ; all eaſily convey'd northward, to the utmoſt limits of the *Roman* power there, by the river *Ouſe* ; which is navigable to the then imperial city of *York*. This city was built and placed there, in that ſpot, on the very account of the corn-boats coming thither. and the emperors there reſided, on that account. and the great moraſs on the river *Foſs* was the haven, or baſon, where theſe corn boats unladed. The very name of the *Foſs* at *York*, and *Foſsdike* between *Lincoln* and the *Trent*, are memorials of its being an artificial work. even as the great *Foſs* road, equally the work of the ſpade, tho' in a different manner.

As *Cheſterton* and *Aldwarkton* by *Durobrivis*, take their names from the *Roman* city: ſo *Cheſterton* and *Grantcheſter* from *Granta*. So when the *Roman* town at *Roiſton* was deſtroy'd, *Barkway* and *Tharfield* aroſe, being ſome what more out of the road of deſtruction. but when *Cambridge* became a town again, it would be as abſurd to ſay, S. *Giles*'s church for inſtance, was in the pariſh of *Grantcheſter* : as to ſay, *Roiſton* market-place was in *Barkway* pariſh. but abſurder ſtill, to talk of a hermitage in that market-place. and if there can be a greater abſurdity, 'tis making this place to be called the hermitage of *Barkway*, in *Henry* VIII. time.

Perhaps a hermitage, or a place ſo called, at *Barkway*, was granted by the king to the family of *Cheſters*, let Mr. *P*—— inquire for it, if he pleaſes. Some others have inquired for it, at the tower rolls, augmentation and other offices without ſucceſs. they can find no mention either of *Katherin* or of *Heremitagium de Barkway* : in the original grant.

Thus I have with the utmoſt conciſeneſs, given the reader ſome relief, in reciting the *Origines Cantabrigienſes & Stanfordienſes*. they are matters not only noble, and of great importance, but the diſcerning reader will find ſome paralleliſm, between them and the ſubject matter of *Roiſton* : ſo as that they mutually illuſtrate each other. and tho' I have a large account of theſe matters, I may not perhaps have an opportunity, or inclination to publiſh it: when we are thus to be ill uſed, for our endeavours.

CHAP.

# CHAP. IV.

——*ſubſequitur cæcus amorſui,*
*et tollens vacuum plus nimio gloria verticem.* Hor.

*Lady* ROISIA *no hermit. Not buryed at* Chikeſand. Leland's *teſtimony examined. Great diverſity of inſtances quoted, of miſtakes concerning interments. The evidence ſum'd up. Lady* ROISIA *buryed at* Roiſton. *Mr.* P——s *notion of people buryed here, abſurd. Diſtinction between male and female ſkulls. His quibbles about the imagery ſtated. Character of* benedict Abbas: Hoveden: Giraldus Cambrenſis: Matt. Paris.

P. 23. Mr. *P*—— not very civilly rates me, for aſſerting, that the *Roiſton* cave belong'd to lady *ROISIA*; whom three times together he calls *my* recluſe. oppoſes me with Mr. *Leland*'s teſtimony, "that ſhe was buryed at *Chikſand*, that it was not uſual for hermits to "admit of perſons to be buryed in their oratorys, and this could not be "lady *ROISIA*'s body, that was found." He gives us a long canterbury tale, of *Guy* earl of *Warwick*, the famous champion being buryed in an hermitage, which he extracted, I preſume, out of an old black letter'd volume, bound up with the ſeven champions, by *Caxton* or *Wynkyn de Worde*.

To all theſe I ſhall give as ſhort an anſwer, as I can. Firſt, I obſerve, he is an unjuſt reporter of my opinion; I do not call lady *ROISIA* a recluſe. I ſuppoſe her to live and dye at *Nuſels*; in the port and dignity, beſuiting her high birth and ſtation. but I ſay, ſhe took a walk, when it pleas'd her, over this agreeable turf, to pay her devotions, or for meditation, in her ſepulchral chapel. moſt probably there was ſome little cott, or cell over it, where a ſervant of hers dwelt; as the keeper of the

place.

place. This is manifeſtly my opinion, which he perverts, and then argues from it, as cuſtomarily as his method.

Secondly, as to the great point, of lady *ROISIA* being buryed at *Chikeſand*, according to the teſtimony of *Leland*. It is our author's buſineſs to magnify *Leland*'s teſtimony. I know how to ſet a proper value on it, and on his works, but ſhall be far from calumniating him, or any author. I leave that to the devil and his agents, who will either find or make faults. But Mr. *P*—— takes this teſtimony of *Leland*'s, from myſelf, and then is ſure to turn it againſt me. 'Tis plain, I had no deſign to impoſe upon, or miſguide the reader, by concealing any evidence relating to this matter. I mentioned that very teſtimony of *Leland*'s, more than once. p. 21. p. 44. as it did not then overſway my judgement, gather'd from laying the whole of the evidence, and appearances together; ſo now I lay no more ſtreſs on it, than before: eſpecially as Mr. *P*.—— has not been able to add any weight to it, more than his own ill-nature: nor any one ſemblance of a reaſon, to overthrow any one poſition in my whole book.

But let us conſider this affair a little. Mr. *Peck* in his *Stamford* annals, p. 46. tells us, "*Leland* wrote, that lady *Iſabella de Roos* wife of *Robert* "*de Roos*, who lived at *Uffington* near us, was buryed at *Newſted* priory. "and that ſhe died in 1303. Now, ſays he, *Leland* is miſtaken in both "the facts. He ſhews, that this lady was buryed at *Boteſford*; that her "heart only was buryed at *Newſted*, and that ſhe really died in 1301.

Here we find *Leland* is not infallible, and that he has miſreckon'd this lady's *obit* a couple of years, and that he has erred in the place of her ſepulture. It was indeed very common, at this time, to order their hearts to be buryed in one place, their body in another. Thus queen *Elenor*'s heart, the wife of *Edward* I. was bury'd at *Lincoln*, under a magnificent tomb of braſs, as *Camden* takes notice: her body at *Weſtminſter*. Thus king *John*'s heart was buried at *Croxton* abby, his body in *Worceſter* cathedral. *Weaver* in funeral mon. p. 751. mentions the heart of our lady *Roiſia*'s nephew, Sir *Robert de Vere* I. to be buryed in the gray friars *Ipſwich*. alſo the heart of dame *Petronil Ufford*. I forbear mentioning more.

Sometime we meet with different accounts of interment, where all cannot be right, unleſs we underſtand it of this ſort, we are writing on. *Stephen*, one of the firſt earls of *Richmond*, ordered his heart to be depoſited, in the abby church of S. *Mary*'s at *York*, in the year 1137. or 1138. in the *Regiſtrum honoris de Richmond* and in *Milles*, he is ſaid to be depoſited in the Ciſtertian church of *Begar*, founded by him, in *Britany*. ſo ſays pere *Lobinel*. yet *Lobinel* himſelf, in another place, affirms he is buried by his father, in the cathedral church of *Briocius*. *Dupaz* ſays the ſame. I mentioned ſome inſtances of this nature, in lady *ROISIA*'s family, at the bottom of p. 34. of my book. I need not recite more.

But beſides all this, 'tis well known, the antients had a cuſtom of erecting cenotaphs or honorary monuments, where no *body* was interr'd, and eſpecially in regard to founders of religious houſes. *Weaver* has a whole chapter upon this head. and on theſe cenotaphs, the names and titles of the defunct, to whoſe honour they were intended, and often the images were cut and inſcrib'd. *Weaver* p. 225. ſays, *Simon Tibbald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* called *Sudbury*, from the place of his nativity, was buryed on the ſouth ſide of S. *Dunſtan*'s altar, in *Canterbury* cathedral. in p. 743. he writes, that he was buryed in St. *Gregory*'s church at *Sudbury*, under a marble four yards long and two broad: inlaid all over with braſs: he judges, the former mention'd to be at *Canterbury*, was only his cenotaph. that he built the chapel where this ſtone lyes.

Thus there is a cenotaph at *Hedingham*, of the famous Sir *John Hawkwood*, who was buryed at *Florence* in *Richard* II. time.

*Weaver* again; "It was the cuſtom of old, and ſo it is in theſe days, "for men of eminent rank and quality, to have tombs erected in more "places than one. For example, and proof of my ſpeech, continues he, "I find here in this church of *Canterbury*, a monument of alabaſter at the "feet of the black prince, wherein, both by tradition and writing, it is "affirmed that the bones of *William Courtney* archbiſhop of this ſee, lie in-"tombed. and I find another to the memory of the ſame man, at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, wherein becauſe of the epitaph, I rather believe, that his body lyeth buryed.

P. 250. He gives an inſtance of *Peter* the firſt, abbot of St. *Auguſtines Canterbury*, buried at *Boloign*: yet a monument was erected for him in St. *Auguſtines* and an epitaph. Can it be doubted but the zealous and grateful abbot of *Walden*, after he had beſtowed ſo much coſt and care, to obtain the body of *Geffery Mandevil* lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband, founder of his monaſtery: when he was diſappointed by the knights templars, as I mention'd, p. 16. erected an honorary monument, for him in his abby church?

At *Bromley* in *Kent*, Mr. *Weaver* gives us an account of *Richard Wendover* biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and parſon of that town: that in the church wall lyes his portraiture: yet it is ſaid, that his body was buryed at *Weſtminſter*, by the king's ſpecial command. The great *Barghley* had a very magnificent cenotaph erected in *Weſtminſter* abby: tho' his body is with us at *Stamford*, and a monument.

Frequent *miſtakes* have happen'd about the interment of great perſons. *William* eldeſt ſon of the earl of *Penbroke*, ſaid in the book of *Waverly*, where his epitaph is recorded, to have been buryed in the temple-church. the ſame perſon in the annals of *Ireland*, is ſaid to be buryed at *Kilkenny*, with an epitaph. *Weaver*, p. 442.

*Milles* writing of *Maud* daughter of *William Marſhal* earl of *Penbroke*, and wife to *William Plantaginet* earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, who died 1237. ſays, her heart lies before the high altar at *Lewis*, but it is not known, where her body was buryed.

In *Montfaucon*'s *monumens* afore-mention'd, are two monumental figures of *Richard* I. one at *Fonteverard* where his body is buryed, the other at *Roan* where his heart.

Sometimes they were buryed in three different places. as *Richard de Clare* earl of *Glouceſter*, a relation of lady *ROISIA*'s, who founded the priory of *Tonbridge*: he died at *Emerfield* in *Kent*. his bowels were buryed at *Cnnterbury*, his body at *Tewksbury*, and his heart at his priory church at *Tonbridge*. *Weaver*, p. 322.

*Ela* daughter of *William Longſpe* earl of *Salisbury*, was wife to *Thomas*

 *de New-*

*de Newburg* earl of *Warwick*. by Mr. *Milles* ſhe is ſaid to be buried in *Oſeney* abby. the truth is, her bowels only are there interr'd, as appears by an inſcription ſtill remaining. *Elæ de Warwick comitiſſæ viſcera ſunt hic.*

In *Camden*, p. 726. we read *William Rokeby* archbiſhop of *Dublin*, dying there ; he ordered his bowels to be buryed at *Dublin*, his heart at *Halli-fax*, his body at *Sandall.*

*William Malmsburg*, *geſt. pont.* III. mentions the great contention, the *lis inextricabilis*, as he calls it, between thoſe of *York* and *Canterbury*, *which* had the body of the great *Wilfrid* ! he died at *Oundle* near us, in a little monaſtery he founded. part of it and the room where he died, ſtill remains.

Other inſtances there are, of bodys being remov'd, after their firſt interment : as for inſtance, *Foelix* the *Burgundian*, founder of *Cambridge* univerſity, biſhop of the eaſt angles, was firſt buryed at *Dunwich*, then at *Soham*, laſtly at *Ramſey* abby. S. *Tibba* was firſt buryed at *Ryhall* near us, where her cell was in the north weſt corner of the church, on the outſide. afterward remov'd to *Peterborough*. but I think, here are caſes quoted abundantly ſufficient, to illuſtrate the point I aim at. which I ſhall put in this eaſy light, to ſhew Mr. *P*—— that *Leland*'s evidence is not mathematical demonſtration, any more than his learned *anſwer and remarks upon*, &c.

From the firſt caſe of lady *Roos*, who according to *Leland*'s teſtimony, was buryed at *Newſted* priory near us: it appears *Leland* was not infallible ; for only her heart was there interr'd. 'Tis highly probable from this and many other caſes quoted, that lady *ROISIA*'s heart was inter'd at *Chikeſand*. We ſee from other caſes, that *Leland* alone is not infallible in ſuch matters, but many other authors muſt be miſtaken, in whole or in part, in relation to interments of great perſonages of antiquity. We ſee in the caſe of *Cenotaphs*, that there might be in *Ckikeſand* chapel, a monument, an inſcription of *la fundeur*, a monumental effigies of lady *ROISIA*, which *Leland* ſaw, and yet her body buryed elſewhere. We ſee, that theſe memorials of great perſons were in more places than one, in different churches, different countrys, different kingdoms.

doms. We ſee at this time of the day, what violent contentions were uſed to get the bodys of theſe great perſons. I mentioned in my book, p. 44. *that* about lady *ROISIA*'s ſon, *William de Magnavile*, to be read at large in *Dugdale* Baron. I. p. 204. 1179. our hiſtorys tells us the violent contention between *Roan* and *Manſe* about the body of the young king *Henry*, ſon to *Henry* II. and innumerable more might be added. But more than innumerable would never convince an obſtinate ſceptic in this point, as Mr. *P*—— profeſſes himſelf, p. 27. I am confident the equitable reader ſees by this time, enough to perſuade *him*, that we cannot with any certainty conclude, lady *ROISIA* was buryed at *Chikeſand*. which of all theſe quoted, is the parallel caſe to ours, 'tis not poſſible for me to point out: but I can ſay thus much, that if my hypotheſis be not extremely diſtant from truth, every page in my book proves, ſhe was buryed in her ſepulchral chapel at *Roiſton*, and it was *her* ſcull that I had in my hand.

I know full well, that it was a female ſcull; and from the rotteneſs of that and the reſt of the bones: the body muſt have been buryed five or 600 years. people of experience can judge of theſe ſculls and others: I have had great experience in theſe matters from great numbers of the *Wiltſhire* barrows, which I have opened. 'Tis impoſſible, that a body ſhould have been ſo decay'd, if only ſince *Henry* VIII. time. beſides how ridiculous is it, to admit of Mr. *P*——'s *hypotheſis*, that hermites did permit people to be buried in their chapels. this body was covered o'er about 10 foot deep, with fine mold; which reached higher than the imagery of the chapel. did ever any hermits thus bury, in their chapels, ſo as to render their chapels forever after uſeleſs?

One word more about lady *ROISIA*'s ſcull, *Weaver*, p. 30. gives an account of a *Roman* monument found at *Stepney*, in his time, in *Radcliff* field. " a cheſt of lead: within was the body of a woman, as the " ſurgeons judged by the ſcull. he recites the jars, glaſs phials, little urns and the like, found with the body, according to the relators account, Sir *Robert Cotton*. they judg'd her to be ſome governors wife, here in *Brittain*. 'tis plain, at that time, people had more faith than Mr. *P*—— to reſt in the ſurgeons opinion: and truſt a man in his own art. A like *Roman* interment was found 1739. at *Durolrivis* abovemention'd near us, with all the particulars. I have two of the curious little veſſels found therein. both

phyſicians and ſurgeons who ſaw the body, pronouc'd it to be female, as well as myſelf.

The diſtinction between a male and female ſcull is as old as *Ariſtotle, hiſt. animal.* VII. 3. and *de part. animal.* that of a woman's in general, is narrower upon the temples, between the *oſſa jugalia*, or cheek bones: and the *ſtyliform proceſſes* in the baſe of the ſcull, are ſlenderer and longer. but an anatomiſt can at firſt ſight, as readily know one from the other, as a connoiſſeur knows the painting of Reubens and of Vandyke.

P. 28. My antagoniſt begins to quibble at the figures or imagery of our chapel, he reprehends me for running from one figure to another, and from one print to another, in my interpretation of them; in order to make them tally (ſays he) with certain *monkiſh annals* ſtrangely ſtretch'd and applied.

This is the itch of calumniating! and then he quotes my 28 p. to be compared with 37. which if the reader pleaſes to do, as I did, I am confident he will find nothing to the purpoſe; 'tis only a ſham quotation to amuſe and deceive. another of his arts of proving. but I ſhall anſwer all theſe particular charges.

When I propoſed to make drawings of the imagery of lady *R O I S I A*'s chapel, I conſider'd, that the place called the grave, was very proper to divide my work, ſo as to comprehend the whole, in two plates. now when I begin to interpret this imagery, I do it in the order of time. I diſcover that lady *R O I S I A* began this fancy of cutting the figures, in that point of the circle, that was oppoſite to the entrance, where that ſquare hole is, in my II. plate, on the right hand of S. *Laurence*; this being to the right of the high altar of the place, or upper end. therefore I rightly begin there. whether it happens in II. or III. plate. from hence I go round, in a continued ſeries, from left to right, as we write, and in chronological order; till the whole circle is compleated, with the utmoſt propriety. and this our perverſe adverſary calls running from one figure to another, from one table to another. he is angry that our lady *R O I S I A* did not cut the figures, in the order he requires: and therefore is reſolved in his interpretation of them, to begin as boys at ſchool do, at the firſt corner of their horn-book: great A.

All the while that he is abuſing me about my plates, he ſcrupulouſly copys them, eraſes my name out of the plate, and vends them to the publick, for his own. but he tells us I ſtretch the figures ſtrangely, i. e. torture them, to make them tally with certain *monkiſh annals*.

No doubt it well became him to quarrel with me about monkery. he who is a ſceptic at every thing, but the golden legend, calls Benedict abbot, a grave and admirable hiſtorian, who wrote every thing of his own perſonal knowledge; this author he calls with equal judgment and truth, *monkiſh annals*. not to diſtinguiſh between a man of learning who liv'd in the court of the greateſt prince of chriſtendom, from a real ignorant monk in his cell, making memorandums of the low events that fell out in his own convent At this time in the court of *Henry* II. where he was chaplain, was tranſacting the moſt material and important buſineſs of the world. we may have ſome notion of it, from what I wrote in the beginning of my p. 33. much more might be ſaid, but this I remark, ſays, *Matthew Paris*, " that all may know, how great was *Henry*'s wiſdom and magni-" ficence, to whoſe audience came the counſels of the whole world; to " whoſe judgment their diſputes.

'Tis not to be wonder'd at, that our antagoniſt ſhould abuſe me, or king *Henry*'s chaplains, when he abuſes ſo great a king as *Henry* II. ſo valuable an author as Benedict abbot; who is loaded with *encomiums* by all that ſpeak of him. of which I have given ſome hints in the preface. he wrote what he knew, and he knew the ſprings of action; had all the original papers to peruſe, he writes the moſt material tranſactions, that then happen'd in the world. and this book is called *monkiſh annals*, as if it had been the day-book of his *Downham* neighbours of the hermitage. The misfortune is, *Benedict* abbot agrees not with his golden legend, for hiſtorical facts are obſtinate things and will never bear ſtretching and torturing; like his monkiſh fables. After I had interpreted the whole imagery of this chapel, well nigh to a ſingle figure, in a plain, eaſy manner, from *Benedict*'s real hiſtory: ſo oppoſitely, that one would think, they were deſign'd from the book; then comes Mr. *P*—— and thinks he has weight enough to perſuade the world, to take it for *monkiſh annals*. To this, as far as they handle the ſame ſubject, perfectly agree, *Roger Hoveden* who was another of king *Henry*'s chaplains, *Giraldus Cambrenſis* his

his ſectetary, and *Matthew Paris* who liv'd in the neighbourhood of the ſeat of power; and at the ſame time. by all remrak'd for a moſt excellent hiſtorian. but all theſe we muſt give up for the lying pages of the golden legend, and the romance of *Guy* earl of *Warwick*, the firſt edition.

## CHAP. VI.

—— & *eaſdem circinat auras.* Ov.

*Concerning profane ſtorys in churches. Interludes at* Chriſtmas-time. *Mr.* P——s *figure of* Thomas a Becket *diſprov'd. S.* John Baptiſt's *portrait ſettled. Mr.* P——s *skill in divinity.* Hugh Nunant's *image defended. The Seal of* Roiſton *priory conſider'd. the image of the* French *king vindicated. His contradiction about the* tiara. *S.* Laurence *on a ſteeple at* Norwich. *Mr.* P——s *skill at multiplying perſons.*

OUR antagoniſt tranſcibes many pages together of my book, at p. 29. in order firſt to fill up his own, next to remark upon them; but not as critics and commentators commonly do, to illuſtrate and commend, but quite on the contrary, to accuſe, deform, pervert and perſecute. a conduct that throws a diſcredit in general, upon the ſtudy of antiquitys!

The ſtory he begins to criticize upon, that he may be ſure to run counter to me, is the laſt which I treat of, in my annals or chronological order, as he affectedly jeſts upon it, my explanation being in order of time, which greatly confirms the probability of it, is highly offenſive to his irregular treatment of the ſculpture, making it a heap of things, that have no relation to any one perſon, nor to one another. Firſt in p. 31. he finds fault with me, for interpreting the ſculpture, in tab. II. where

*Henry*

*Henry* II. ſtands with his ſword drawn, into any thing that looks like, what he calls, prophane hiſtory, he thinks it no proper decoration for a religious cell.

What an injudicious ſqueamiſhneſs does he pretend to, that will not ſuffer a contemplative lady, to record in her own oratory, the remarkable event, of a moſt furious war nip'd in the bud, between the monarchs of *England* and *France*, by the intervention of the more powerful eccleſiaſtical ſword! when a legate *de latere* from the pope, at that time honour'd with almoſt divine rites, accompanyed with great numbers of archbiſhops, biſhops, and nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, and *France*, at the very onſet of a battle, interpos'd between the two armys, and made peace; holding up the thunderbolt of excommunication againſt the party, that dared to refuſe a compliance. Our lady's favorite ſon at this time, had a very great ſhare in the command. and this truly is reckon'd a piece of prophane hiſtory, not fit to be put into a private oratory! he may as well call it prophane, when we give publick thanks in our churches, for a victory againſt the *French*. It was in lady *ROISIA* a piece of religious gratitude and devotion, thus to conſecrate to God, a memorial of ſo extraordinary a pacification, between two great nations.

One would ſuppoſe our author thinks, hanging up the king's arms in our churches a piece of profane hiſtory. he never read any profane, I mean ſecular accounts of family hiſtory, or monuments in churches. much leſs did he ever obſerve figures of devils, ludicrous and obſcene repreſentations, both on the outſide and inſide of cathedrals, churches and chapels. When he was looking for Sir *Robert de Weyland*'s picture and his ladys in his own church: he might have obſerv'd the whole roof of the church ſupported by horrid and fantaſtic images of cacodemons and the like. My friend Mr. *Drake* of *York*, obſerves hunting ſtorys carv'd in *baſſo releivo*, in the minſter. but innumerable are the inſtances of this kind. it ſhews to how wretched a ſtraight he is reduc'd, that makes uſe of ſuch low wrangling.

Next he wrangles with me for making lady *ROISIA* probably preſent at *Chriſtmas-time*, in *Bedford* caſtle, where the king celebrated the feſtival, with great ſolemnity. he ſays, there was feaſting, plays, interludes, maskerades, revels and dancing. therefore it muſt be a great levity

in her, to be preſent there, who was a *recluſe*, dedicated to a religious life: a mere profeſſed. all this is forg'd out of his own head. I never made her a recluſe, a nun, a profeſſed. She was a lady of qnality. both her ſons by her firſt and by her ſecond husband, were now in the king's court, in her own neighbourhood: and why ſhe might not be there too, if ſhe pleaſed, as well as the king's chaplains, or any body elſe, no mortal alive can ſee, except our *ſerpens epidaurius*, whoſe buſineſs it is, to make faults, where there are none. Mr. *P*—— ſeems to be ignorant, that theſe interludes at *Chriſtmas-time*, were not profane, as he terms it, but religious, with pageants and the like. from Mr. *Drake*'s account of thoſe at *Corpus Chriſti* time in his appendix, p. xxx. we learn a notion of them.

P. 32. comes our author's ſolution, which he has been thus paving the way for. and why could he not offer his ſolutions to the diverſion of the public, without lugging me in, to keep him company? but he ſays, this is the repreſentation of the martyrdom of St. *Thomas Becket*: the perſon with the ſword erect is the murderer. Him I call *Hugh de Nanant*: he makes the archbiſhops croſs-bearer. then comes a quotation out of the golden legend, to prove all this: from the moſt ſilly, popiſh ſtory, that ever was read: p. 33. which I recommend to the reader's peruſal, when he is diſpoſed to be merry. 'tis in effect ſaying, *return ye fooliſh* Britons, *to holy mother church*. Obſerve, how carefully all the while *Becket* is called ſaint.

Can any reaſonable perſon imagine, that when I was writing concerning *Henry* II. and other perſons and things of his time: when I mention in the beginning of lady *ROISIA*'s retired life, the memorable year of *Becket*'s murder, p. 27. when I mention this priory adjacent, being dedicated to *Thomas a Becket*; that I ſhould not have him in my mind, when I contemplated this figure. but my judgment was not form'd, like our author's, from a partial conſideration, or from prejudice, but from the whole of things. the figure of an archbiſhop, and that of a man with a ſword in his hand, may repreſent *Becket* and his murderer, when properly circumſtanc'd. and the like may be applied to many other archbiſhops, who have been murder'd. but here is a group, a multitude of figures, all apparently belonging to the ſame hiſtory: and not to be interpreted from only two, out of the number; for all the reſt are repugnant.

Obſerve,

Obſerve, here are but theſe two. for *he* called by him the archbiſhop's croſs bearer, cannot be ſo, according to his own *hypotheſis*.

For 1. in p. 34. he ſays, that I have not copyed that figure right, he does not hold a croſs in his hand, but the croſs is a diſtinct altar, as he calls it. here he flatly contradicts himſelf and what he ſays in this 32. p. 2. in the ſame p. he makes this figure of a croſs-bearer, to be really *John Baptiſt*. 3. p. 34. he denys, that there was any crucifix on the ſtaff, borne by archbiſhops. 4. I add another of his abſurditys, that there he makes two croſſes, one in the archbiſhops hand, another in his croſs-bearers, which is altogether inconſiſtent. 5. I add another abſurdity of his. in p. 35. he makes this figure with a ſword in his hand to be *Herod* the king, who ſlew *John Baptiſt*.

Thus does a man run himſelf into a ſhoal of abſurditys. out of the luſt of contradiction!

I muſt give a diſtinct anſwer to all theſe poſitions. 1. it is much eaſier to refute this, than to ſettle what his aſſertions are. for from the unſettled mixture of his ideas, he is as contrary to himſelf, as he is to me. he ſays in one place, the figure with the crucifix in his hand, whom I make to be *Hugh de Nunant*, is the archbiſhop's croſs-bearer. this notion I prove to be falſe, both becauſe he himſelf at the bottom of 34. p. pretends the archbiſhop's croſs had no crucifixes on them. likewiſe, as according to him, the archbiſhop has the croſs in his hand already, his croſs-bearer cannot have it too; for we do not read, nor does he pretend, that archbiſhops had two croſſes. laſtly he himſelf, p. 34. ſays, I have not repreſented this figure right; that he does not hold a crucifix in his hand: but the crucifix is really plac'd between him and the archbiſhop, and ſo makes another altar. for he ſays, here are many altars in this chapel. he ſays, this figure has an emaciated face, with a forked beard, therefore it repreſents *John* the *Baptiſt*: for that the priory is dedicated to *John Baptiſt* and *Thomas a Becket*. the whole, he concludes (according to the ſcantling of his logic) is a proof, that lady *Roiſia* had no hand in cutting it.

Thus does he play with words and abuſe the typographic art, in printing what he underſtands not himſelf, nor can make any reader underſtand. but I think he ſufficiently confutes himſelf. as to his aſſertion of its being

St.

St. *John Baptiſt*: we do not find in king *Richard*'s charter to the priory, which I have already quoted, that it was dedicated to that ſaint, *monaſterio ſancti* Thome *martyris apud crucem* Roheſie, it is ſtyled. but be that as it will, I do aver this is not *John Baptiſt*, both becauſe of his bearing a crucifix, and becauſe of his forked beard. in *june* 1745. I viſited our ſepulchral chapel, on purpoſe to compare my plates, with the original, and this figure I examin'd particularly, becauſe Mr. P—— had found fault with my drawing of it. yet notwithſtanding, he directly copyed my drawing, without any pretended amendment. but I found my drawing correct. I do aſſert, that this figure bears the crucifix in his hand. tho' the ſhaft of the crucifix is broke off, his right arm is in the poſture of holding it. the crucifix is over him, rather on his right ſide: ſo far is it from being between the two figures, as Mr. *P*—— would have it.

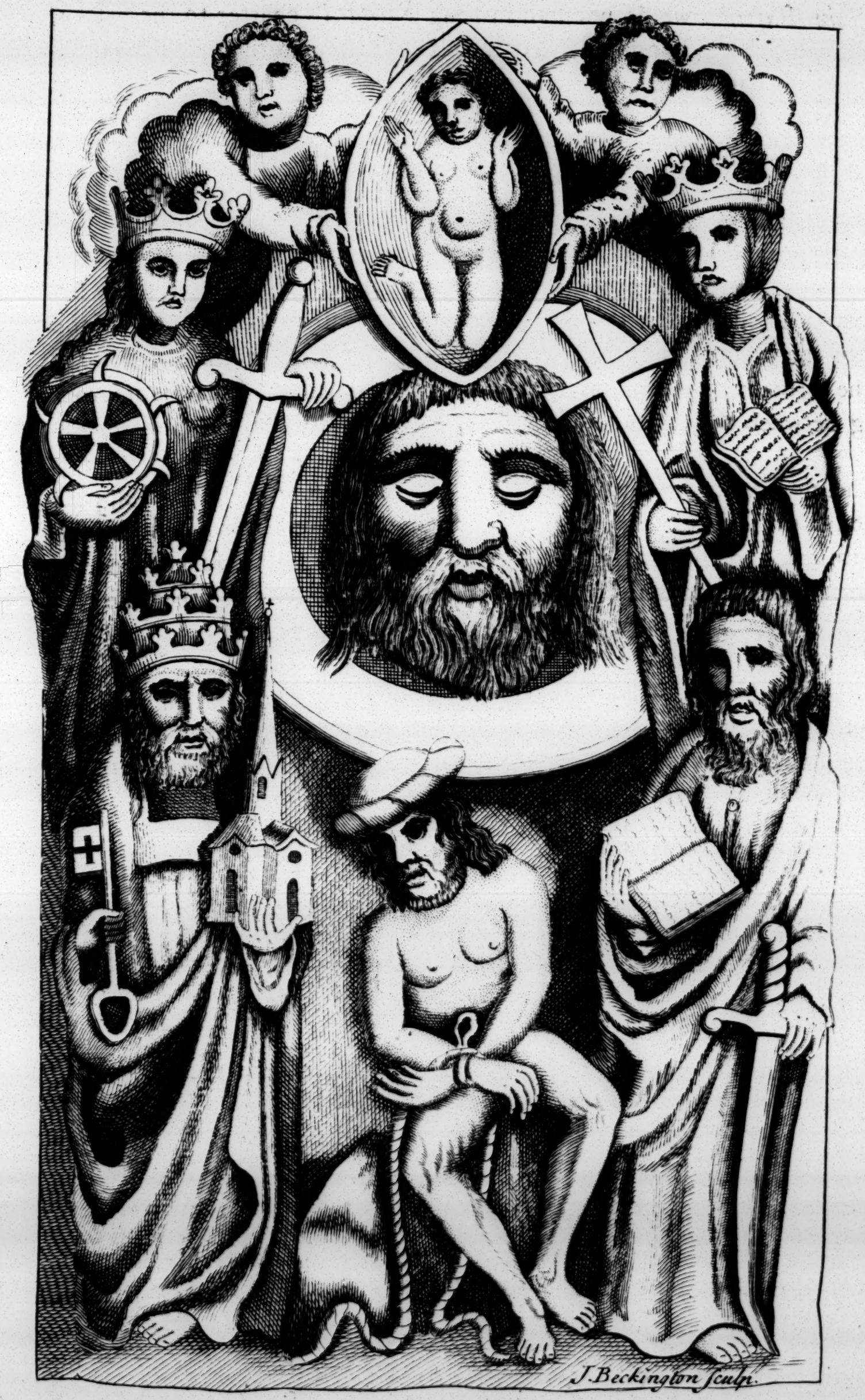
Therefore what he ſays about this matter is abſolutely falſe. I appeal to the ſculpture it ſelf. as for his proof from the forked-beard, 'tis childiſh and abſurd. for how ſhould he know, the *Baptiſt* had a forked-beard? authority, and that is all we can have in the caſe, tells us otherwiſe.

I have ſome elegant pieces of old ſculpture in alabaſter, in *mezzo relievo*, which I take to have been portable or private altars high raiſed. one of them, has belonged to ſome chapel dedicated to St. *John Baptiſt*. It was given me by my worthy and learned friend, *Samuel Gale*, Eſq; 'tis exactly a foot in height. below, is the whole figure of the *Baptiſt* in priſon, his hands bound: above, his head in a charger, but of a larger ſize. the bare head is three inches and a half in height, incompaſs'd with ſaints and martyrs. the beard in both theſe figures, is repreſented ſhort, broad, and even at bottom. for the readers curioſity, the ſculpture of it is here exhibited. *

I have the figure of St. *John Baptiſt* in painted glaſs, of an old ſtyle. he is pictur'd at length in his coat of skins, 22 inches high. the face and beard is exactly ſimilar to thoſe abovemontion'd. a plain ruſtic aſpect, the noſe very gently riſing. I had it among broken, painted glaſs, taken from St. *John*'s church here, by the glaziers, when repairing the windows: which within memory were admirably adorn'd, with this ſumptuous and elegant furniture. Mr. *Peck* found from the pariſh old accounts, that it was made by glaſs painters of *Peterborough*, of great eminence.

* TAB. V.

I have




*An antient Altar in Alabaster Dedicated to*
S^t. John Bapt: *in possession of* W. Stukeley.
*Inscribed to the learned Samuel Gale Esq.^r*

TAB. V.

I have

I have now in my hand, an old monaſtic kalendar or almanac, with the pictures or ſymbols of the ſaints of the days of the month throughout: ſome in black, ſome in red letters and colors. it was found behind the wainſcot of *Fineſhade* abby near us. 'tis on velum, made from a wooden print, but copyed from a manuſcript one, much antienter. I conſider'd the dates of all the ſaints compriz'd therein, and find the lateſt of them is S. *Francis*, who dy'd 1226. over 29 auguſt, is S. *John Baptiſt*'s head in a charger. the beard is repreſented, not forked, but even at bottom, as the others.

Thus we have three or four evidences in different kinds, from antiquity, uniformly agreeing about the *Baptiſt*'s beard, quite different from Mr. *P*——s aſſumption. I do not pretend, that any of theſe were taken from originals, or that they are evidences of the main truth: but they ſufficiently evidence that the ancients obſerv'd an uniformity in theſe repreſentations. and that Mr. *P*.—— cannot infer, the figure to be the *Baptiſt*, from the forked beard. if the *Baptiſt* himſelf has appear'd to him in a viſion, let him declare it.

Thus having ſhew'd, that this figure which I rightly call *Hugh de Nunant* (as I ſhall further ſhow in proper place) is neither *Becket*'s croſsbearer, nor *John Baptiſt*; there remains but two more, of all this group, which he pretends to interpret; him call'd archbiſhop *Becket*, and the figure with the ſword in his hand erect, which Mr. *P*—— ſometimes makes the archbiſhop's murderer, ſometime *Herod* the king, who kill'd the *Baptiſt*.

There is little need of refuting a man that is ſo variable and diffident in his own underſtanding of things. His interpretations are like the oracles of old, that look both ways. and this ſword we are diſcourſing on, he makes a Delphic ſword, which is either to cut off *John Baptiſt*'s head, or *Becket*'s ſcalp, according to the figures good pleaſure. how fine a knowledge has our author in the art of deſigning, who thus confounds times, perſons and circumſtances! if the firſt of the figures had been *John Baptiſt*, how comes it that *Becket* ſteps between him and *Herod*. if the ſwordbearer be the muderer of *Becket*, what need of *John Baptiſt*'s company? he ſhews himſelf a profound adept in divinity, that aſſigns *Herod* perſonally to cut off the *Baptiſt*'s head. St. *Matthew* whom we ought rather to

 believe,

believe, writes, that he ſent, and beheaded *John* in the priſon. he did not go into a ſordid dungeon, in all his royal array, on a birth day, and do it himſelf. nay he was ſorry for his oath, that occaſion'd it. St. *Mark* ſays expreſly, the king ſent an executioner, who went and beheaded him.

As to *Becket*, if to this man with a ſword, had been added four in company with ſwords, and there had been no more figures in this group, we might have admitted it. *Hugh* called the ill-clerk *(malus clericus)* had a hand in killing him, as well as the other four ruffians: *Mauclerk.* but what has *Becket* to do with all the reſt, particularly with that figure which has a crown on, and was in reality the *French* king (as I ſhall ſhew in proper place) for on my more nicely examining this figure, I found that his crown is really *fleure*, like the crowns, which both *French* and *Engliſh* kings now wore. further what has *Becket* to do with the two armys, as plainly and as well deſigned, as any other figures in the place?

There are indeed ſtill more figures than I have drawn, but imperfect. and 'tis pleaſant to think, that Mr. *P*—— rates me in p. 61. for not interpreting an imperfect figure or two, that never were finiſh'd; whilſt here he ſays not one word of all the number of figures which compoſe this group, we are ſpeaking of.

His odd notion, p. 34. of the little holes called niches, wherein to put lamps, to burn before theſe ſaints, does not deſerve confutation. it proves no point.

*ſi quis nunc quærat, quo res hæc pertinet?*

lady *Roiſia* if ſhe pleaſed, might ſet up a lamp there occaſionally, or on the ground: or ſhe might put a prayer book in there, or any other book, or thing. but had it been a conſtant practice to put a lamp there for many ages, the oyly black would have been ſtill diſcernable.

My buſineſs is now, only to ſhew the falſity and improbability of his interpretations of the imagery. which when done, is no ſmall confirmation of that which I had made. but I ſhall at the cloſe of this work, reconſider my own interpretation, and add ſome further obſervations, which prove and confirm the truth of it.

He

He informs us, p. 35. that he too is a collector: and luckily has got an old decay'd ſeal of a prior of *Roiſton*, which contradicts a poſition of mine, relating to *Roiſia*'s croſs. his figures upon it, are too imperfect for me to enter on a diſpute about them. his criticiſm on locuſts is taken from *Hammond*. but this I ſay, that no perſon that has any notion of drawing, can think the croſs in the middle, is the figure of lady *Roiſia*'s croſs. I can allow it to be an archiepiſcopal ſtaff: but it is nothing like the upright ſtone of the croſſes, ſet up by highways; which were of an obeliſcal form fix'd at bottom, into a great ſtone, which ſtone or foot-ſtool ſtill remains at *Roiſton*. this foot-ſtool was ſet upon ſteps. on the top was a round or multangular capital, carv'd either with a crucifix, the *Virgin Mary* or other ſaints. we are not to doubt, that this croſs of lady *Roiſia*'s was a coſtly one, beſuiting her quality and fortune; and that help'd to add that celebrity to the place, which denominated the town. in the old kalendar above mentioned, found at *Finſhade*; a croſs is depicted by S. *Guthlac*, ſet upon ſteps. and in *Guillim's* heraldry, p. 227. a croſs is depicted, ſet on three ſteps, the arms of the *Jones*'s of *Denby*: which gives us a much better notion of the old croſſes, then his ſeal: and a true notion withal, which his ſeal does not. and this is all that is worth remarking about his ſeal.

P. 37. our author next cuts ſome very large ſlices out of book, no leſs than four intire quarto pages, and *ragou's* them, for his readers entertainment; begins with calling it, a ſurprizing long bead roll of romance. the whole is upon two figures in our chapel, that of S. *Laurence*, and that of a king under him. in an eaſiy and natural way, I ſhew, theſe were made by lady *Roiſia* as a grateful commemoration of the moſt ſignal victory, obtained over the *French* king, guilty of the utmoſt perfidy; by our king *Henry* II. on S. *Laurences* day, 1173. Lady *Roiſia*'s favourite ſon *William de Magnaville*, had then a ſignal command under the king, as likewiſe another relation of hers, *Hugh de Beauchamp*.

But commendations of *Henry* II. do not ſuit our author's taſte, and that of his coadjutors; nor tales of *French* perfidy. he makes my *French* king to be his *Galyen* or *Decyan*, as he affectedly ſpells them, and proves it from the unerring, golden legend; for it muſt be any perſon, rather than what I ſay. and further, the epiſcopal figure ſtanding by, he makes to be pope *Sixtus*, who ſuffer'd with St. *Laurence*. nor is it enough, that he ſhould be plac'd here once, but the three little figures underneath, he makes to

be

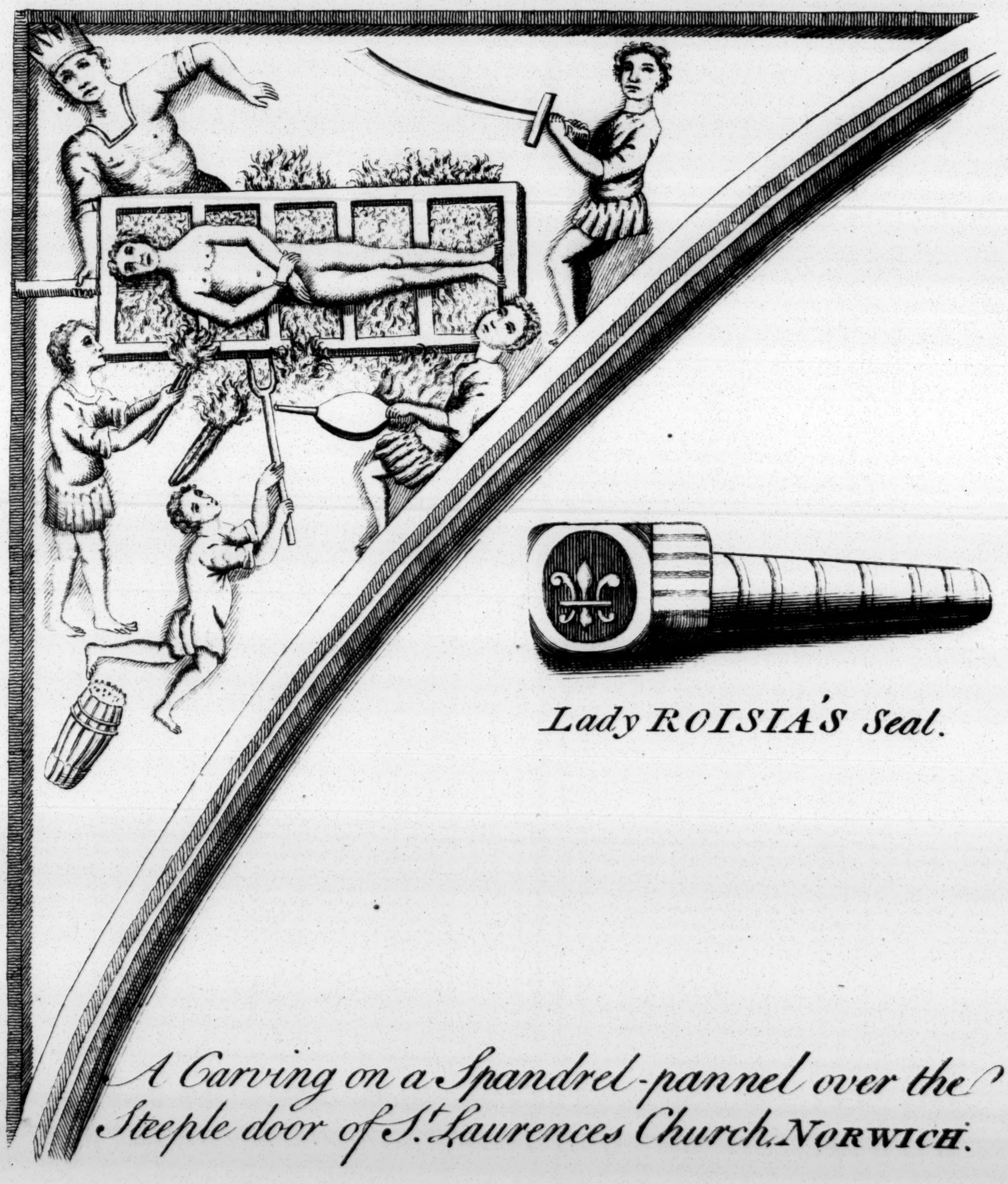
S. *Felicissimus*, S. *Agapitus*, and S. *Sixtus* again. and quarrels with me, because I did not tell the world who they were.

Thus he wantonly throws out at random his wild and licentious conjectures to be believ'd merely on his *ipse dixit*, without any color of proof or probability: and sneers me, p. 43. about my *good friend* Benedict *abbas*, as he calls him. The truth is this, in my 42. p. I mention'd this defaced figure seeming to have been a crucifix, under it, a female figure perfect. I suggested, it might be the representation of lady *Roisia* herself, and the cross she erected above ground. as I deliver'd the thing in modest terms, it shew'd how unwilling I was, to impose upon the reader; but what I said, intimated sufficiently, the three figures underneath may well be understood, to represent a multitude of passengers, perhaps, going on the road by the cross. I did not like *him*, at random, give their names. and when I came to correct my drawing, to be precise, I found there were four figures, and an imperfect one underneath. So that Mr. *P*—— may add here another pope *Sixtus*, if he pleases. that other figure standing by, with a miter on, is likewise imperfect. therefore I spoke not about it, as it might be understood in the same circumstance of a spectator But Mr. *P*—— boldly makes a pope of him, and assigns names for the little figures too, meerly out of his own good will and pleasure. whilst the female figure the most perfect in the whole, whom I make to be good lady *Roisia* herself, he out of a mortal aversion to her, will not once look that way.

But our author finds fault with my drawing of this mitred figure, tho' at the same time, he has not mended it, and will needs have it a triple crown, a pope. yet after I had more attentively consider'd this figure, I cannot discern the *tiara*. it is as I said before, imperfect, and therefore not worth the disputing about. but still I think, he says enough himself, to over throw his own arbitrary conjecture; both as he makes here two figures of pope *Sixtus*, which is absurd in one group; and again by his own observation at the bottom of p. 41. which he levels as usual, against me: he there says, *Urban* V. 1362. was the first pope that *took up* the *tiara*, (an elegant expression) whence he infers the image was carv'd since that time: nevertheless he makes pope *Sixtus* to wear it, in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, about *A. D.* 260. what a *farrago a surprizing long beadroll* of contradiction is here!

I desire

B L





*Lady* ROISIA'S *Seal.*

*A Carving on a Spandrel-pannel over the Steeple door of S.t Laurences Church* NORWICH.

*J. Bockington Sculp.*

I desire the reader but to look upon this group of figures, in my II. plate, or that of *his* copy'd from me, and see how wild an imagination this must be, that fancys it the martyrdom of S. *Laurence*, trampling upon the emperor *Gallienus*. he is really holding the instrument of his passion, as in a triumphant, not a suffering state; whilst his friend pope *Sixtus* is trampling on his dearly beloved self, his own effigies, one of the three little ones; the other two according to Mr. *P*—— being S. *Agapitus* and S. *Felicissimus*. but who the fine lady is that stands between them, a most perfect figure, he says not a word of, at this time. and then what has the crucifix to do here, in company of a *Roman* emperor, a persecutor? all these wretched inconsistances, without any shadow or similitude of probility, is an indignity offer'd to every reader, as well as myself.

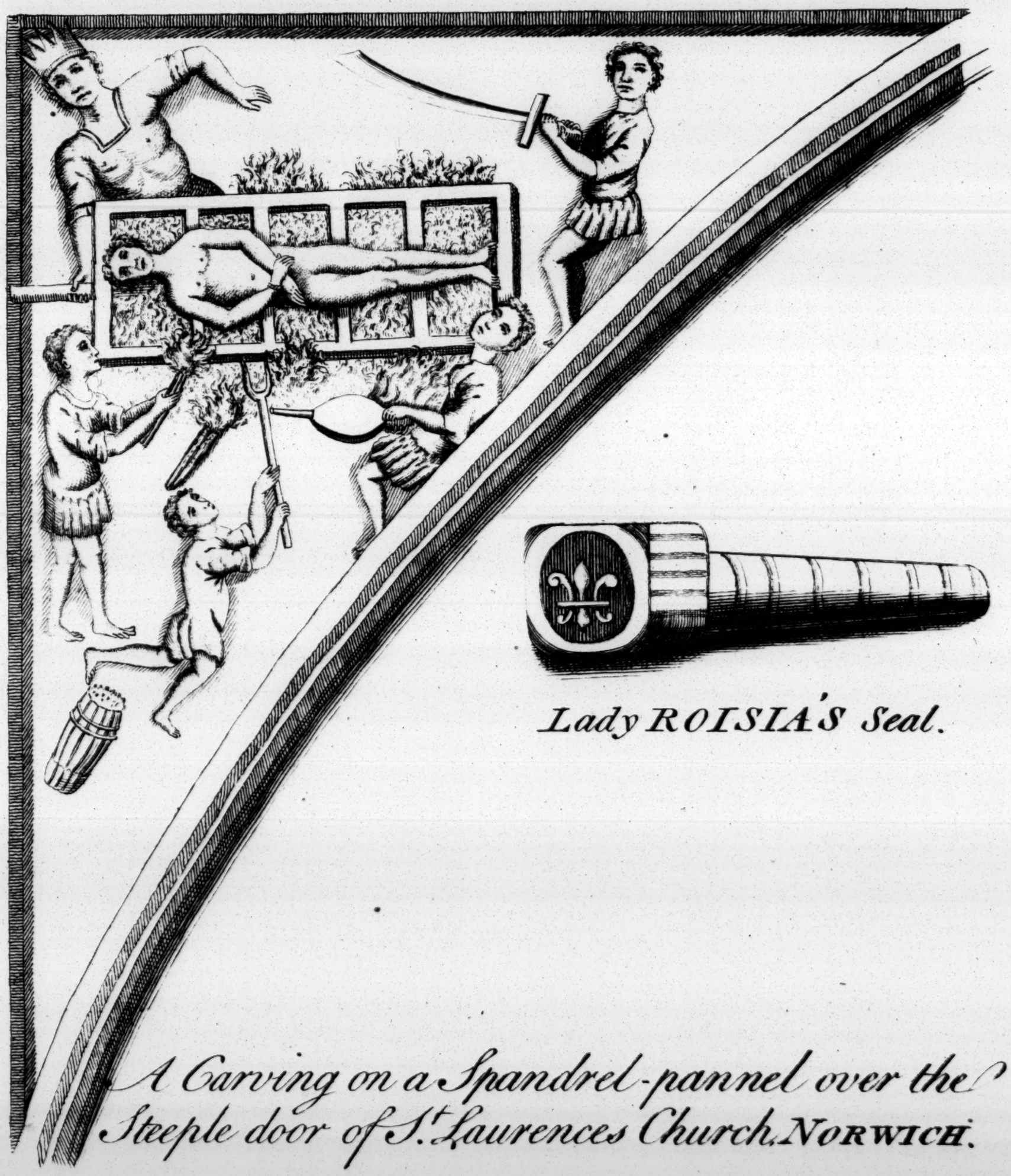
*quo teneam vultus mutantem protea nodo!*

Again how ridiculous is it to make this figure of a king to be the emperor *Decyan* or *Galyen* (to spell it in his mannar) this crown is as plain as any thing possible, the crown worn at that time by the *English* and *French* monarchs; not the radiated one, worn by the *Roman* emperors, and which was then well known to the sculptors. again, this king is evidently in the action of one frighted, flying; not of one persecuting and killing of christian martyrs. but we must follow our author to another part of his work, before we have done with this argument.

P. 47. he is so delighted with long, and fresh accounts out of the golden legend, which will make any body laugh to read them: that he resumes this debate again, and now this figure of the *French* king is become the emperor *Decian*, which before was the emperor *Gallien*. this is another of his arts of interpretation, which we may call *oneirocritics*. at the bottom of the page, is a learned note, informing us, that on the tower of S. *Laurence* in *Norwich*, is to be seen the figure of S. *Laurence* and that of the emperor *Decian*, in a falling posture as here. he believes that I will not venture to say, that lady *Roisia* carv'd this, or that this bears any relation to the *French* king. which tower was built about 1470.

This is another insult on the publick, as well as on me. I have therefore given a print of this carving, to shew how unhandsomely he treats us. 'tis a representation of the martyrdom of S. *Laurence*, with the excutioners about him. above is the emperor *Gallienus* or *Decian*, which Mr. *P*——

 pleases.





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pleaſes. ſo far is he from falling down, as Mr. *P*—— would have it, that he ſtands above the martyr, as it were inſulting him. this is a picture of the ſaint, in the act of his martyrdom: that in our chapel, in a triumphant ſtate; and quite ſo very diſſimilar in every thing: that the reader will be apt to bluſh, for one that can aſſert ſo manifeſt a falſity, as that they are alike. obſerve further in this print, the emperor rightly wears a radiated crown. therefore our author deſerves a cardinals cap at leaſt, who puts a *French* crown, on a *Roman* emperor's head. he quotes at the bottom of p. 42. a ſpecial authority, the golden legend, that *Galyen* had two names, *Galyen* and *Decian*. and ſo the golden legend is remarkable for contracting two perſons, into one, as Mr. *P*—— in multiplying them, one into two. for he makes *Hugh de Nunant* to be both *Becket*'s croſs bearer and *John the Baptiſt*. *Henry* II. in armour, he makes to be both *Becket*'s aſſaſſin and king *Herod*. this figure he makes to be both *Decian* and *Gallienus*. after, he turns lady *Roiſia* into one *Concordia* a nurſe, and into one *Tryphonye* an empreſs. he makes two pope *Sixtus's*, and if need be, he can as eaſily unmake them all again.

CHAP.

# CHAP. VII.

*Immaniſque ſedens aliena ad pabula fucus,*
*aut aſper crabro, imparibus ſe immiſcuit armis.* Virg. G.

*The converſion of S.* Paul *aſſerted. character of the* golden legend. Hypolite, *his horſe, nurſe,* &c. *exploded. S.* Chriſtopher *and his ſtaff, confirmed. Of burying here. Making many altars here, abſurdly. S.* Katherin's *priſon affirmed. A piece of Mr.* P——s *divinity, again. The dove in ſcripture. Papiſts abſurdly call'd* roman *catholicks. The* Popiſh *ſcield of the five wounds. The ſtation of St.* Chriſtopher *quite miſtaken by Mr.* P——

P. 43. our author tranſcribes two more pages of my book, where I treat of the three figures, that repreſent the holy family: this, out of his abundant civility he admits. but the figure of a horſe and man, his ſword and ſhield by him, which I call the converſion of S. *Paul*, he will by no means admit. his reaſons are, he ſays, the apoſtle ſhould be in a *Roman* dreſs, in a groveling ſtate and poſture, by his horſe on the ground. his horſe ſhould be bridled and ſaddled. here he is without furniture; the apoſtle ſtands upright, and in compleat armour. theſe circumſtances perſuade him, that 'tis ſome other perſon, and at laſt he pitches upon S. *Hypolite*, and gives us his hiſtory, out of dear, golden legend, and in the antiquated ſtile. pity, 'twas not printed in the old black letter!

Our author not only runs into anachroniſm, in calling S. *Paul* apoſtle, again into falſe hiſtory, in making him a *Roman*, but likewiſe in his learned note, at bottom of the page: that I tell him, that all our ſaints have a croſs, cut in the lower part of their garments: but S *Paul* here has not a croſs, ſays he, therefore he is not S. *Paul*. does not our author know, that S. *Paul* when he was ſent to *Damaſcus*, went to perſecute

the chriſtians ; therefore what title had he to a croſs upon his garment, not being either a ſaint or a chriſtian ? now I do aver, that S. *Paul* is not a figure ſtanding upright, but well enough repreſents a man fallen on the ground, his ſword and ſhield, and horſe lying by him. what can be a juſter repreſentation ? in his *ſpecial* dedication, he finds fault with the rudeneſs of the work of our imagery ; that it is not like *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*, *Angelo*, and *Bandinello*, a pomp of words without any meaning, and now he pretends to diſcern, that S. *Paul* is in compleat armour, and his horſe without any furniture. I own I could not ſee clearly enough, to know whether he is, or is not in compleat armour, nor whether his horſe be, or be not in furniture : he ſeems to be in a ſhort riding habit, as he ought to be, not in long, ſacred veſtments of an apoſtle, before he was an apoſtle : or in a *Roman* dreſs, when he was a *jew*. nor am I ſo eaſily perſuaded, from the authority of the golden legend, that this is S. *Hippolyte*. I muſt ſtill declare, for the converſion of S. *Paul* ; which was a real hiſtory, and the deſigning of it upon the wall here, is common, eaſy and obvious. and his miſerable joke upon me, p. 49. for not knowing an apoſtle from a jockey or horſe-leach.

*tradam protervis in mare Creticum portare ventis.* Hor.

Then at laſt, as with a very ill will, he vouchſafes to run back to that figure which I called lady *Roiſia*. he had told us in p. 31. that it was 43 years compleat, ſince the death of her firſt husband : otherwiſe 'tis a very rude joke upon her, to ſay ſhe is a *Crambe* and more than *bis repetita*, he means *cocta*. had ſhe been a *popiſh* ſaint antient or modern, he would have ſaid, *hæc placuit ſemel ; hæc decies repetita placebit.* Hor.

however caſting about in his head, how to get rid of this lady, and conſulting the golden legend, he finds ſhe is one named *Concordia*, who was *Ypolytes* nurſe. " ſhe was nouryce of *Ypolyte*, and ſaid, we had lever deye " with our lord chaſtely, than lyve fyn ully. and than decyan beynge " preſente, commanded that ſhe ſholde be beten with plommets of lead, " unto the tyme, that ſhe gave over her ſpyryte.

For ought I know, this is a ſage leſſure, how to overcome a woman's ſpyryte. But this little I quoted out of the golden legend, that the reader may be acquainted with the ſpirit of it, after he has ſuffer'd as much as S.

*Concordia*

*Concordia* from the plommets of lead, and after this, p. 50. Mr. *P*—— who may have undergone the ſame diſcipline, according to his wonted skill in interpretation, finds out from the ſame golden legend, that this figure is, " *Tryphonye* the emperor *Decian*'s wife: who became chryſten, " with her daughter, who when ſhe wolde not do ſacrifyce, dyde do cutte " her throat, and dy'd do byhede the other knyghtes, and the bodys were borne with the other; into the felde verane, and there buried.

Well might *Vives* ſay, the legend was written by a man of a brazen-forehead, and a leaden wit. enough of this in *Pool*'s excellent book, the nullity of the *Roman* faith.

And now illuminated by the golden legend, he makes a new diſcovery, in the ſame p. 50. " that the figures in battle array, which the doctor " would have us believe to be, the two armys of the kings of *France* and " of *England*, may *perhaps* repreſent theſe knights thus martyred." He goes back to the firſt ſtory we begin withal, to drag in two whole armys, which til' now, he had forgotten. what a hotch potch of company has he made, aud how beautifully has he marſhalled them. *John Baptiſt*, *Thomas a Becket*, king *Herod*, pope *Sixtus*, *Hypolytes* nurſe, the emperor *Gallienus*, *Hypolytes* horſe, and above two whole armys of martyrs: to which number, add my ſelf and the reader fellow ſufferers. nor can we yet ſing the *nunc dimittis*. this might well breed a mortal quarrel between us, that I neglect his friend S. *Becket*, when thus attended by two armys of ſaints!

But all this while, we have not accounted for *Hypolytes* horſe: ſo he tells us a ſtory of " a vill near *Hitchin*, called *Hipolites*, from him here " ſhrined. and that people cuſtomarily brought their untamed colts, and " forworn jades to it, through the length of the church, to be bleſſed by " him, who was a good tamer of colts, and an excellent horſe leach. he does not diſtinguiſh who was ſhrined there, *Hypolite* or his horſe: but from the poſture of the horſe, he might as well have made his *Hypolyte* a ſhew-man with a dancing horſe. I wonder too, that as he introduces travellers here in great numbers, with their great coats, boots and ſpurs, it did not enter into his mind, to bring their horſes down likewiſe, to pay their adoration at his *Hypolytes*'s fancied altar, in our chapel: and be bleſſed there.

We

We have now gone through the pains and penaltys of 50 pages out of 76. the next ſcene to be preſented, is at p. 51. S. *Chriſtopher*'s ſtaff. I tell a reaſonable and credible ſtory concerning it, that S. *Chriſtopher* preaching the goſpel before a multitude of people in *Lycia*, he ſtuck his ſtaff into the ground, it took root, immediately produced leaves, flowers and fruit, in token of the truth of his doctrine; which much furthered their converſion. but this does not ſatisfy our antagoniſt, for it does not come out of the golden legend; and has not enough of the marvellous in it. ſo he gives us a thumping quotation therefrom, which I have no ſtomach to tranſcribe. but at length he makes this a *palmer*'s ſtaff, or croſs: and that it ſtands here as an altar to S. *Hypolyte*. a moſt enormous whimſy of his own, miſtaken from the word *palmyer* in the legend, berynge floures, leves and dates, by which is meant either the *palm-tree* properly, or what we call palm, from flouriſhing about *Palm-Sunday*.

P. 53. he gives a laſh upon my obſervation on the two little pictures of ſepulchral monuments cut upon the ground of the *podium* or circular bench, as we ſee in table II. under the figure of lady *Roiſia*. this he rubs off, with a vain repetition of hermits ſuffering men and women to be buryed in their oratorys. they muſt be mere pigmys if he thinks any buryed here, for theſe pictures are not above a hand in length. and it is abſolutely impoſſible, that any ſhould be buryed here, under the chalk. for the floor is pure rock of chalk, that has never been dug, never deſign'd to be dug.

Proceed we then, to his tranſcription from my book, p. 53. remarking upon it, that he gives an impertinent account of eccleſiaſtical decrees, concerning ſetting up images in churches, and ends in p. 57. with a notorious falſity. he has enterrain'd a crotchet of great variety of altars in this place, then puts it into my mouth, as if I had done it, and argues from that abſurdity. as if I had aſſerted, the altar of S. *Laurence*, or the altar of S. *Paul*, who is his *Hypolyte*, was made ſo and ſo; and with a peculiar modeſty calls it *hyſteron proteron* exiſting only in his own imagination.

*quid hoc veneni ſævit in præcordiis!* Hor.

P. 58. he finds fault with what I call the priſon of S. *Katerin*; a cavity ſunk into the wall. he affirms, 'tis the ſepulcher of our Lord, cut in ſimilitude

militude of our ſaviour's tomb, made on the north eaſt ſide of the chancel. but unfortunetly, this happens to be on the north weſt ſide. he gives us long accounts of this matter in churches, which are altogether impertinent to this place and thing, being neither a church, nor is the concavity our lord's ſepulcher, having no ſort of reſemblance to it; as may be ſeen in books of travels into the holy land, ſuch as *Sandys*, *Lebrun*, &c. however, p. 59. he fully diſcovers his talent as a divine, equally as an antiquary.

I have ſhown in my book, p. 33. what he would have call'd a demonſtration, we are told this eminent virgin and martyr was impriſoned for twelve days, no perſon permitted to come near her, even to bring her any ſuſtenance: but that a dove miraculouſly adminiſtred to her, and brought her all neceſſarys. this is cut as plainly as picture can repreſent it: and yet our antagoniſt will have it any thing, rather than what I ſay it is. for it muſt be our Saviour in his ſhroud, as dead in his ſepulcher, "and no "wonder is it, ſays he, to ſee the dove hovering over him, a proof of the "deity.

This is downright impoſition upon the faith and underſtanding of mankind. he might as well have ſaid, it was a partridge, or a nightingale, had we not the teſtament in *Engliſh*, we ought to conclude, that a dove hover'd over our Saviour's ſepulcher; as at his baptiſm. and further, that the evangeliſts had told us, it was a proof of the deity. in the mean time Mr. *P*—— with a papal authority declares and decrees, that it ought to be ſo, and is ſo, and that we ought ſo to underſtand it. wherein ſcripture, is a dove the proof of the deity! the holy ſpirit was pleaſed, for the ſatisfaction of *John Baptiſt*, and the ſtanders by, to deſcend upon our Saviour's head, in a viſible form as to anoint him, at his holy baptiſm. what form could be more proper than that of a bird, and what bird more proper than that of a dove, on many accounts? the ſymbol of meekneſs, ſimplicity, love, chaſtity, fidelity, purity, innocent and ſeraphic devotion, and many more virtues which 'tis not neceſſary to enlarge on, the intent of the holy ghoſt deſcending on our Saviour, was likewiſe for his ſpiritual deſignation to the prieſt hood, after the order of *Melchiſedec*, the patriarchal method. Therefore I recommend to Mr. *P*—— to read my friend *Cruden*'s concordance, *voce* dove, and he will be *better inſtructed*, in his theological notions. but as to the matter in debate, we may without a

ſolecism

ſolecifm call it a demonſtration. this figure in the hollow of the wall, may as well be aſſerted to be S. *Katherin*, as if ſhe had the wheel in her hand.

P. 60. he gives us a detail quite foreign to any purpoſe, about the ſhield of the five wounds, as call'd by the *Romaniſts*. a mere piece of drollery, of thoſe who call themſelves *Romaniſts* and *Roman* catholics. and we are weak enough to call them ſo too, inſtead of papiſts : which they know, is become juſtly odious to the common people. but to ſhew our folly therein, examine what pretence they have, to the name of *Roman*, or of catholic. can a popiſh prieſt or a papiſt born in *England*, and all his anceſtors, with any propriety be called a *Roman*, any more than a *Polander*, a Ruſs? and catholic, which ſignifys univerſal, the leaſt belongs to papiſts, of any religion upon the earth. the moſt narrow-ſould religion in the world! the old *Romans* proſelyted themſelves into the religion of every country they conquer'd. but papiſts endeavour to extirpate the very face and appearance of all religions but their own.

The purpoſe that Mr. *P*—— has in diſcourſing on this popiſh ſhield of the five wounds, is abſolutely impertinent. there is no ſuch thing in this chapel. I never ſpoke of them, and yet he introduces it, to form a proof againſt me. S. *Francis* truly invented an order, who invented this famous ſhield, 20 years, after *Roiſia*'s death ; *ergo* lady *Roiſia* could not cut the figures of hearts and hands in her chapel, which has nothing to do with his popiſh ſhield.

But this has been his common method of argumentation, throughout his whole book. as if the reader could be ſo little acquainted with human nature, as not to know that a heart and hand were ſymbolical of affection, ever ſince human nature began.

P. 61. he has a fling at me, becauſe I do not tell him. *ne unum verbum quidem* which for the benefit of his *Engliſh* converts, means not one ſingle word, about a head of a figure only, in S. *Katerines* priſon. he ſays 'tis a woman, and further, that 'tis *Mary Magdalane*, and inſtead of the golden legend, quotes the ſcripture to prove it. I ſuppoſe, he ſees with *Roman* ſpectacles, which do not fit my noſe, nor is my noſe large enough to be led by them. And I believe it as much to be *Mary Magdalen*, as his former figure was *John Baptiſt*.

In

In his remarks, p. 62. he takes notice that the *ſtation*, as he calls it, of S. *Chriſtopher*, was on the north weſt end of churches. and he has the modeſty to tell us, that he is thus plac'd in our oratory. juſt as he miſtook about the poſition of his pretended ſepulcher of Chriſt: ſo now he miſtakes about this ſaint. for he is really upon the north eaſt ſide of lady *Roiſia*'s chapel. that S. *Chriſtopher* which I mention'd in *Weſtminſter* abby, is on the moſt ſoutherly wall in the abby. 'tis defac'd, ſince I wrote, to make way for a tomb.

At the bottom of p. 63. he adds a learned note from his fellow labourer *Blomefield*, telling us, S. *Chriſtopher* is plac'd over the north door, becauſe children to be baptiz'd, were uſually brought in at it; in alluſion to the water in baptiſm. 'tis falſe, that children to be baptiz'd were uſually brought in by that door, and nothing at all to the purpoſe, was it true.

In that 63. p. we have a huge quotation hawld out of the golden legend, about S. *Chriſtopher* being a hermit, merely for the ſake of that antiquated language. if the reader is ſleepy in peruſing this tedious diſpute, he will do well to look it over. but our author would not ſay a word of S. *Chriſtopher*'s vertue in preventing tempeſts, becauſe I had ſaid it before; and therefore he holds it for apocryphal. but this is the real occaſion of putting up S. *Chriſtopher*'s picture in churches: and this is the real occaſion of lady *ROISIA* cutting it here. and this figure together with the aſſigned date, 1185, ſo concurrent with thoſe great calamitys mention'd in my book, are as a ſure chronological character, and what Mr. *P*—— would have exulted in, as a mathematical demonſtration.

Sir *Thomas Brown*, *vulg. err.* p. 211. writes, it was the cuſtom to place his image at the entrance of churches, towns and public ways. 'tis at the entrance of *notre dame de paris*. and at our entrance, here. and this is a proof, that the well was the original and only entrance of the place, according to our firſt opinion, notwithſtanding Mr. *P*—— has omitted it, in copying my frontiſpiece plate.

# CHAP. VIII.

*ad Regem redeo; poſtquam nihil inter utrumque convenit* —— Hor.

*The foundation of our quarrel* Henry II. *His character. His original image here. The abſurdity of Mr.* P——s *gilds here. The hiſtory of the head dreſſes, debated, and illuſtrated, from monuments. Mr.* P——s *extraordinary argument fetch'd from his own church. True arguments fetch'd from* Gretford *church.* Burton *coggles,* &c. *Mr.* P——s *concluding battery diſmounted.*

'TIS fit we ſhould begin a new chapter, when we are arrived at the head and foundation of all this quarrel. hitherto I have been endeavouring to vindicate an innocent and pious lady, traduc'd, and even annihilated, as if ſhe never had been. but now I may ſay,

*major rerum mihi naſcitur ordo.*

I am to enter the liſts in combat, for a great and mighty monarch, the greateſt, dead, that ever ſat on the *Britiſh* throne. to execute this with dignity, I muſt needs own my inſufficiency: 'tis a task fit for the pen of Mr. *Lyttleton*, who will do it juſtice. but in the mean time, according to my mean module, I muſt call my antagoniſt to an account.

P. 66 Mr. *P*—— declaims againſt me, for ſaying, " *Henry* II. is here " carv'd: or ſaying any thing that is reſpectful of him the hiſtorians " which he has conſulted, ſet forth that king in a different light.' i. e. as biſhop *Nicolſon* writes, ſome make him a god, ſome a devil; according as the author favor'd the court of *England*, or of *Rome*. Some ſay, continues the biſhop, that the life of this king, as we now have it in *Speed*'s chronicle, was compos'd by Dr. *Barcham*, archbiſhop *Bancroft*'s chaplain; and

and chiefly in confutation of one *Bolton* a papiſt, who had newly enlarg'd too far, in the juſtification of *Becket*'s inſolent carriage to his prince.

'Tis this, that has ſprung the mine againſt poor lady *Roiſia*. and we may ever obſerve our ſcioliſts in antiquity are like enemys to that great queen *Elizabeth*, becauſe ſhe beheaded *Mary* queen of *Scots* ; and for other good reaſons, in *their* account. ſuch love to pick out little errors in *Camden*, that they may build a low character on his high fame. Therefore I who have ſpoke civilly of this king ; have plac'd his image in this chapel ; have deny'd *Becket*'s image a place here ; inſtead of *Ypolyte*, *Ypolyte*'s horſe, *Ypolyte*'s nurſe, and many more faults of that claſs : I who have ſtuff'd the walls, with king *Henry*, no leſs than twice, and his queen *Elenor*, and many other brave men and women ; not named in popiſh kalendars : I of conſequence muſt needs be an heretical delinquent. I who have dar'd to fill up my book out of Benedict *Abbas*, " a book, full, " ſays the biſhop, of notable and politic remarks," inſtead of the golden legend : ought to be *anſwer'd and remark'd on*, in the ſevereſt manner.

It ſeems, the hiſtorians which our author has conſulted, ſet this great king in a different light, to what I do. and I do not doubt it, as not having recourſe to the vatican for a true character of him.

*lupis & agnis quanta ſortito obtigit,*
*tecum mihi diſcordia eſt.*

ave given a good reaſon, for our lady cutting it, here, both becauſe of the perſonal qualitys of the king : as that he was a ſpecial benefactor to her houſe. Mr. *P*—— not like a good chriſtian, gives the worſt part of his character, and offers that for a reaſon, why it ſhould not be him.

Let us ſee what ſuch authors as I conſult, ſay. *Rapin* a *Frenchman*, calls him, " one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of his time, both for great- " neſs of genius, and extent of dominion. He was valiant, prudent, ge- " nerous, politick, ſtudious, learned, and of an exalted genius. thus writes " *Milles* : bountiful and liberal he was to all men, rewarding his ſoldiers, " oftentime, over and above their wages; his pitiful nature to the poor, " may not be forgotten ; for his charity alſo made him famous. in the " year, 1176. when there happened a great dearth in the parts of *Anjou*

" and *Mayn*, ten thouſand perſons did he daily feed with ſufficient ſuſte-
" nance. and this charity continued, from the beginning of *april*, 'till new
" corn was brought to the barn. whatſoever proviſion was made for his
" own houſhold, he employ'd it to relieve religious houſes, and poor
" people ; oftentimes faſting himſelf, that they might be fed.

" Of his ſubjects, continues he, very ſeldom took he any great tri-
" butes. he was expert in arms and very fortunate. he would commend
" his captains and men of war, when they were dead ; pitying their loſs,
" more than his love appear'd to them, while they lived. he was wiſe
" and indifferently learned. for due adminiſtration of juſtice in his king-
" dom, his care was very great : and in appointing magiſtracy.

" He was the greateſt king this nation ever knew, ſays Sir *Winſtan*
" *Churchill*, *divi* p. 212. this mighty king of *England*, the greateſt of all
" the chriſtian world, in his time, or that the kingdom ever ſaw. ſays the
" judicious *Daniel*.

" With his high fame in fight, what cold breſt was not fir'd — through
" all the weſtern world, for wiſdom moſt admir'd. *Drayton*'s *polyolb*. p. 260.

" *Matt. Paris* calls him magnificent ; again, *principem manſuetiſſimum*,
" in 1175. he calls him. *anglorum rex maximus*, in 1186. *indulgentia pii*
" *regis*, in 1163. *Benedict abbas* calls him, *rex chriſtianiſſimus*, in 1163.

Thus *Giraldus Cambrenſis* who was his ſecretary. *hibernia expug.*
" p. 782. " he was a prince very eloquent, learned, affable, eaſy, plea-
" ſant, polite, of great piety, trying all things before arms, but valiant
" and intrepid. he was very humane and merciful; ſevere to the obſtinate,
" clement to the conquered ; liberal in publick, parſimonious in private.
" as to the accuſation of unlawful amours, he ſays, it was not, till after
" his wife had offended, in inſtigating his children againſt him. He was
" a man of foreſight, an obſerver of peace, incomparably charitable.
" the chief ſupport of the holy land. he lov'd humanity, ſpurnd at pride.
" prudent, perfectly well vers'd in all hiſtory, and excellently well fur-
" niſh'd with all gifts of nature.

Theſe are the authors that I conſult, and I need not wonder at being traduc'd, when ſo great a monarch muſt be abus'd. *Becket* has forgiven him, tho' theſe people have not. he went one pilgrimage on foot, and barefoot, to his tomb. he accompany'd *Philip* earl of *Flanders*, on the ſame account, 1177. the ſame year he refounded *Waltham* abby to his honour. in 1178. *Benedict* ſays, " the king came from *Normandy* on the ides of " *july*, and immediately, as his cuſtom was, went to viſit *Becket*'s tomb, in 1179. he accompanyed the *French* king to *Becket*'s tomb. he accompanyed *Theobald*, uncle to the *French* king on the ſame account, as likewiſe the archbiſhop of *Cologn*. he was the cauſe of many churches being dedicated to him. *Benedict abbot*, for inſtance, his chaplain, and *Richard de Lucy*, his chief juſtice built ſuch.

His piety was ſhewn, in that, *Laurence* abbot of *Weſtminſter* compos'd a book of the life of *Edward* the confeſſor, at the inſtance of our king. *Matt. Paris* lives of the *abb. S. alb.* p. 82. after he and his queen were crown'd at *Worceſter*, they both laid their crowns on the altar, vowing, out of a ſpiritual humility, never to wear them again. *Matt. Paris* ſays, the king only eat bread and water for three days. in 1182. he gave to the relief of the holy land, 42,000 marks of ſilver, and 500 of gold: *Matt. Paris*. when he was dying, he was carryed to the church, to the altar, to receive the holy communion, *communionem corporis & ſanguimis Domini*. as *Hoveden* words it. they did not then, as the papiſts now, give the ſacrament by halves. here let us reflect on this great monarch. after all his power and glory ; the ſoul of man in its ſober moments, like *Noah*'s dove, can find no reſt for the ſole of her feet, but on the ark of religion.

As to his empire, he extended it much farther, than any of his predeceſſors, and bating what we poſſeſs in the *Weſt Indies*, it was much greater than at preſent. he ſubdu'd *Wales*. the king of *Scotland* held his crown for him. he and his nobles ſwore fealty to him. he conquer'd *Ireland*. he was duke of *Normandy* in right of his mother the empreſs. he was duke of *Guien*, *Aquitain*, *Saintonge*, in right of his queen : he was earl of *Anjou* and *Main* in right of his father. he was likewiſe earl of *Britany*, of *March*, of *Main*, *Tourain*, *Nants*, *Tholouſe*, *Poictou*, *Limoſin*, *Gaſcoign*, thence as far as the *Pyrencan* mountains. he had the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* offer'd him, to which he had ſome natural title ; becauſe his father

*Geffery Plantaginet* was heir to *Fulk* IV. king of *Jeruſalem.* in 1181. young king *Philip* of *France* committed the regency of the kingdom to him: *Matt. Paris.* he married one daughter to the king of *Sicily*, another to the duke of *Saxony*, from whom our preſent monarch is deſcended. as to the military capacity of *Henry* II. it would be an affront to the reader to enlarge upon it. 'tis a noble foundation for a hiſtory.

In the year 1177. he was made arbitrator between the king of *Navarre* and *Caſtile. hæc ideo dicimus*, ſays Matt. Paris, *ut notum ſit omnibus, quantæ rex ſapientiæ fuerit quantæque, magnificentiæ, ad cujus audientiam totius fere orbis concilia, & dubia principum diſcutienda, judicio pervenerunt.*

Theſe are the authors which I conſult, which Mr. *P*—— calls *monkiſh annals.* and thus much was neceſſary for me to ſay, to vindicate from calumny ſo great a king, in whom our antient royal, *Saxon* blood revived.

After we have been treating of kings and princes, it grieves me, that I muſt again defile my hands, with anſwering ſcandal. p. 66. our antagoniſt gives his reaſons, why the figures which I call *Henry* II. cannot be him, *viz.* becauſe *it ſeems* to repreſent either king *Edward* III. or rather king *Henry* V. he always takes care to double them. and for fear his own eyes ſhould fail him, he takes a hint from what I obſerv'd, of a collar being upon the king's breaſt: which he doubts not to be that of the *George.* now our noviciate, knows not that the collar or *torques* was the proper ornament of the nobility, as well as of kings: from the *Saxon* times. *Ingulfus*, p. 76 *opt. edit.* repreſents earl *Waltheof torque aurea circa collum inſignitus.* in *Rapin*'s prints of the kings of *England*, engrav'd by my friend *Vertue*, *William Rufus* is repreſented, with ſuch a collar, as our *Henry* II. in the ſubterraneous chapel. I have a *folio* bound, containing above 100 prints of the monarchs and nobles, male and female, from *William* the conqueror to king *James* I. ingraved by *Elſtrake*, *Simon Pas*, &c. here *William Rufus* is repreſented with the ſame collar on: as likewiſe our *Henry* II. and *Edward* I. and *Edward* II. theſe are all done from antient pictures, the beſt lights they could have: and for habit, we have reaſon to think, more to be depended on, than the face. but this will teach us, to ſet a value on this figure in the chapel. both *that* and the queen ſeem to have had more accuracy beſtow'd on them. they may

be

be accounted originals, done by one perfectly acquainted with the Perſons: tho' not perform'd with that delicacy of *Angelo* or *Bandinelli*, *Phidias* or *Praxiteles*, names with which Mr. *P*—— lards his dedication.

In that manuſcript of *Bodenham*'s aforemention'd, being the arms, and account of all the nobility of *England* as created, from the conqueror to king *James* I. are the pictures of the kings. *Henry* II. has a knot of jewels hanging down over his breaſt. *Richard* I. has a collar on, compos'd of jewels. I need ſeek no further. this is enough to diſannul our anthor's weak ſurmiſes.

In 70, 71. 72. pages, continues he to teaze us, with matters wholly impertinent, of great men being benefactors to his fancied hermit's chapel here. nay he is not content to make halt a dozen altars at the place, but he muſt needs croud it further, with a chantry at the lower or little altar, as he calls it. and that one or two chantry prieſts officiated at it.

——*Pergis pugnantia ſecum*
*frontibus adverſis componere* —— again p 75.

Before, he had told us, that two or three hermits likewiſe officiated to the devotions of the numerous travellers frequenting the ſeveral altars here. 'tis well he forgets to introduce their horſes too, to *hypolites* altar. any one that ever was in this place, would wonder, how this croud could turn themſelves round here, how they could get in and out. and would fear, that any ones head was turn'd, that had ſuch a viſionary imagination. p. 75. he adds further, that it is very probable, that ſome chantry, fraternity or guild was held here, at this ſame little altar, and that the figures, which I aſſign to lady *Roiſia*'s family, repreſent ſome particular members of the ſame chantry, who were remarkable for their benefactions, *&c.* to it.

Theſe guilds or fraternitys conſiſted ſometimes of hundreds of people, always of numbers, and all were obliged to appear together, on their particular days, at celebration of divine ſervice. I apprehend theſe fraternitys of Mr. *P*——*s* were never given to feaſting, as all other guilds were, but being mere *larvæ* ſpecters, they might ſtand together in our oratory, like fairy elves in a circle, and take up no room. thoſe that are not ſatisfy'd with this ſolution may be refer'd to *Guy*'s hoſpital. the misfortune

fortune is, our author crouds all his knowledge, emptys his whole common place book, in one pamphlet.

It delights me, that I have only one objection more to anſwer, and that is, p. 74. this the *fluctus decumanus*, I wiſh it were to waſh off all the filth. he will maintain, from the dreſs, eſpecially from the men's and women's caps, that this work is 200 years later in time, than I aſſign it. he quotes a home-argument to prove it, in his own church, from carved heads in ſtone.

Not to inſiſt on his error of affirming in the ſame paragraph, that they are *modern*, and proving it from *antient* figures in glaſs-windows, and in ſtonework: in anſwer to this capital proof, I firſt obſerve, his reaſoning here, is but of the ſame tenor, as that which runs through the whole work: 'tis form'd only from a partial conſideration, as well as from a high prejudice. he does not weigh the whole of things. can any one ſuppoſe it reaſonable from ſo unaccurate ſculptures as ours and that he brings, to argue ſo peremptorily: or why may not the ſame faſhion continue or prevail again, in 200 years time? but I ſhall go much deeper to examine this point, than the ſurface.

The hiſtory of the habits and faſhions of the times, from the *Saxon*, down to the preſent, often has been an object of my inquiry. I apply'd it long ſince, to my own genealogy, for every 30 years, by the great helps I had for nine years together, from the members of the antiquarian ſociety, when I was their ſecretary: many of whom belong'd to the heralds office.

Mr. *P*——*s* argument for the men's caps, is in p. 73. taken from that imperfect figure mark'd 2. in my plates, which I aſſert to have a helmet on, and that it ſhould mean *William de Magnavile*, father of lady *Roiſia*'s firſt hnsband. Mr. *P*.—— out of contradiction, will not ſuffer this to be an helmet, no more than he will ſuffer the perſon; but it appears to him rather to be a round bonnet, or cap, ſuch as was worn by perſons about the reign of king *Henry* V. and VI. when I again view'd this figure attentively, I could not alter my firſt ſentiments about it, and muſt ſtill declare, that it appears to me, to be a helmet. and there can no reaſon be given, on any probable account but this, why this figure only has ſuch a ſquare helmet on. if it were a cap, why ſhould not all the reſt of the figures

figures, have the like, being ſeven men in number, more. beſide, if it were a round cap, it would not in the leaſt prove it, to be of the reign of *Henry* V. and VI. becauſe ſuch caps were worn more or leſs, from the conqueſt to queen *Elizabeth*'s time.

As to the female head dreſs, which he aſſigns to the year 1400 'tis equally inconcluſive. the cap of the woman here repreſented, is the real dreſs of the women I write of. and that is ſufficient for my purpoſe. it was worn long before, and was worn long after. 'tis certain the women in lady *Roiſia*'s time, wore this ſhort head-dreſs in neat folds, like a vail, ſcarce reaching down to their ſhoulders, the plaits appearing handſomely underneath, on each ſide of their neck; which is meant by the turn at the bottom, in our carvings. at top, they had that ſquare appearance, as we obſerve. to be fully ſatisfy'd in this point, let the reader conſult the figures in *Montfaucon*'s *monumens* above quoted, of the time we are writing of, and he will have pleaſure and conviction. nay he may ſee the figures of ſome of the very perſons we are ſpeaking of: ſuch as the whole effigies of our *Henry* II. as now upon his tomb at *Fonteverard*, in *Anjou*; that of his ſon *Richard* I. in the ſame place. he will ſee the intire figure of our queen *Elenor*, *Henry*'s wife, her vail ſquare at the top, and falling down above her ſhoulders in handſome plaits. ſhe has likewiſe a cloth under her chin, which was ſometimes uſed by the ladys of that age, ſometimes not. but what is remarkable, there is exactly the ſame form of dreſs at the bottom of her neck on the monumental effigies, as on the figure of lady *ROISIA*'s cutting; of queen *Eleanor*. which according to Mr. *P——s* way of ſpeaking is a demonſtration, that 'tis really queen *Eleanor*. he will likewiſe ſee the figure of *Berengaria* queen to *Richard* I. from her monument there. her vail as before, no chincloth. he will ſee the figure of *Elizabeth de la March*, queen to king *John*, buryed there, the vail as before.

This was the dreſs from the conqueſt. for we find the ſame wore by *Maud* queen to *William* the conqueror, in that moſt antient picture, on a wall of the monaſtery at *Caen*.

Further, the ladys affectedly made it appear ſquare at top. ſometime by putting a circlet on the outſide, above their forehead, as appears in figure 2. of table xxviii. *Montfaucon*, a daughter of S. *Lewis*, who was



the

the ſon of that *Philip*, who gave ſo much trouble to our *Henry* II. and I ſhall hereafter quote inſtances to be ſeen at home. there are pictures too of the lords of the court of *France*, about that time, in *Montfaucon* which in their whole habit, are exactly like the men in our chapel.

There are other women whoſe vails are kept out ſquare at top, by circlets put underneath the head-dreſs. theſe circlets, both thoſe put on the outſide and thoſe on the inſide, were adorn'd with flowers or jewels. the ſame faſhion both for men and women laſted both in *France* and *England*, to the time of *Philip* the bald, 100 years after lady *Roiſia*'s time. for the intire figure of a woman, ſee that of *Blanch de Caſtile* queen to *Lewis* VIII. *Tome* II. table XVII. figure 2. ſhe lived 1220. ſhe has the ſame ſquare vail on her head, without a crown, or circlet. her gown, bating the mantle royal, is exactly the ſame, as lady *Roiſia*'s females. there is another like figure, n°. 3. in the ſame plate.

Theſe are evidences beyond all exception, not imperfect, not dubious; as thoſe muſt needs be, that he quotes from his own church, and at laſt, altogether inconcluſive. for in the firſt place, his argument is falſe, or at beſt very precarious, which he draws from the ſtone heads in his church, being the ſame perſons, as thoſe named in the painted glaſs.

In the year 1745. having a journey which led me within a mile of *Oxburgh*, I viſited the church there. As ſoon as I enter'd the church yard, I diſcern'd, that the church, like moſt others, had been rebuilt. and particularly, that the weſt end only both on the north and ſouth ſide the ſteeple, is of the old foundation. in the arch of the ſouth weſt window is a head female with the dreſs we are diſputing on, and of *Henry* II. time. I am poſitive, that the windows there, and on the other ſide the ſteeple are of that time. the remainder of the church and chancel has been rebuilt. all or moſt of the upper windows of the nave of the church, were glaz'd by Sir *Robert Weyland*: and had either his name or arms on them, and perhaps he rebuilt the church, perhaps not: only glaz'd the windows. but the argument produc'd by Mr. *P*—— from it, is of a very extraordinary kind. thus it is. " in a window, ſays he, over the 4th arch of the church, on the " north ſide, is *orate pro aia Dni Robti de Weyland, & Cecilie ux. ejus*, in an " oppoſite window is his ſhield, a. on a croſs, g. five eſcalops, o. and on " the ſtones that ſupport the arches of the ſaid window, on the out ſide, are

" two

" two heads carv'd, Sir *Robert* who dy'd 1385. and his lady. he with a " bonet or cap ; ſhe in a head-dreſs, like thoſe at *Roiſton*.

" Further, in the chancel, which was built about 1440. is the head of " a woman carv'd in ſtone; with the ſame dreſs, and ſerves as a pedeſtal " to ſupport one of the great beams or principals of the roof.

The intended argument here, is of an enormous length, what the logicians call a *Sorites*. obſerve, it begins at a window on the north ſide of the church, it ſtretches quite a croſs the church, to the ſouth ſide thereof. all this within the church, and in glaſs work : then it goes quite from the inſide of the church to the outſide, and there makes its concluſion, in ſtonework. ſo that it errs againſt all logical rules whatever. 'tis not juſt either in matter or mood. the premiſſes and concluſion are diſſimilar. indeed this pretended argument is no better than one of thoſe cobwebs which in autumn, o're ſpread all the ground. naturaliſts ſay, the ſpiders that make them, have the faculty of ſhooting them to conſiderable diſtance, taking advantage of the wind : ſo that they ſhall ſtretch acroſs rivers, or from one tree to another, or from one ſide of a church to another.

Juſt ſo is Mr. *P——s*'s argument here produc'd from his own church, and juſt as ſtrong. if the name of Sir *Robert* and his wife are in the glaſs of the inſide of the north window : then two *images* in ſtone on the outſide of the ſouth window, are the figutes of Sir *Robert* and his wife.

But to be ſerious, the matter is really thus. Sir *Robert* made moſt of the glaſs of the upper windows of this church, as appears by their ſimilarity : his name is on ſome : his coat of arms on others, and oftner than once. on ſeveral of them is ℑhu meaning *Jeſus*. and the great *Saxon* M meaning *Maria*. now very often in old times, when churches were to be rebuilt, they took the old painted glaſs of the windows and fitted it up for the new work : and likewiſe the old ſtones as far as they they would go : but eſpecially the carved ſtones. very often the painted glaſs is of the ſecond or third edition (if we ſo ſpeak) ſince the ſtonework was made. tho' Sir *Robert* made the glaſs, perhaps he did not make the ſtone-work : and though he made ſome of the glaſs, he did not make all. Our churches are very ſeldom built the whole at one time ;

or rebuilt, altogether. they were built and rebuilt by ſeveral perſons, at different times. and different perſons commonly undertook to perform different parts of them, both glaſs-work and ſtone-work. as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of the laſt foundation of *Croyland* church. *Bleſenſis*, p. 118. ſo that there is no poſſibility of deducing a concluſive argument, of the nature that Mr. *P*—— aims at. we can make no inference from glaſs work to ſtone-work, in whole or in part: and *e contra*. and in the caſe alledged none can be more unluckily projected.

I obſerved on the ſouth ſide of the church without, four windows out of five have this ſquare female head-dreſs: ſome with men correſponding, ſome without. but all vaſtly unlike. now there's no reaſon why Mr. *P*—— ſhould pitch upon the 4th window for Sir *Robert* and his lady's images more than the 2d or 5th. or the ſame reaſon would fix other two images to be our Saviour and the virgin *Mary*. they are all either old heads taken from the more antient church, for ſake of the carving, or they are merely fanciful and groteſque, and indeed very poorly perform'd. there are the like correſponding on the north, and outſide of theſe windows, men, women, and groteſque. ſome men's heads have a kind of night cap on or a coif: which indicates the time of the conqueſt, as may be ſeen abundantly in *Montfaucon*'s tapeſtry, abovementioned. ſome women have this ſquare head-dreſs, ſome not. all very ill done. Mr. *P*—— has not made a compliment to Sir *Robert* and his lady by making any of theſe heads deſign'd for them: and in pitching upon theſe only of the 4th window of the ſouth ſide, not the leaſt reaſon.

The like muſt be ſaid of that which he mentions to be in his quire, ſupporting one of the principals of the roof. 'tis one wretchedly carv'd female head, among a number of heads that ſupport the reſt of the principals, which are notoriouſly groteſque. the mere fancy of the carver. it cannot be infer'd to be the habit of the times (excluſive of other times) any more than the ridiculous groteſque figures, in the quire. the like in the church. for all the principals of the roof are ſupported by groteſque, rather diabolical figures, mere hobgoblins. and Mr. *P*—— might as well have found Sir *Robert* and his lady among them, as go to the outſide of the church for them. of all the weak arguments in his book (and they are all ſo) this ſeems, as the laſt, the weakeſt, and the merryeſt.

I have

I have had a good deal of acquaintance, both with painted glaſs, and theſe carvings on our churches. and know, how far, with judgment, we may make ſome concluſion from theſe heads. I ſhall give an inſtance, by and by, from *Balderton* church. painted glaſs is of a guſto and age very different; ſet up at very different times, from before the conqueſt to the 15th century. perhaps made new two or three times, ſince the ſtone-work of the church was made. Therefore it muſt be very falſe argumentation, from the glaſs, to conclude the age of the ſtone-work. nor can we be ſure, in churches that have been repair'd, of the age of the carving, in thoſe parts that have been repair'd.

A careful obſerver of the fabrick of churches, can eaſily diſtinguiſh the old and the new parts, and give a very good gueſs at the age of the reſpective parts, from the manner of building, the ornaments, windows, &c. I ſee theſe kind of heads, which are the ſubject of our diſpute, very often on the outſide of churches, under the arches of the windows and elſewhere, and find they belong to buildings of the age we are writing on. but becauſe I would not put off my conjectures in the caſe, as my adverſary does, I ſhall give inſtances only from what is to be prov'd.

*Stamford*, *Grantham*, and abundance of other towns in our neighbourhood were royal demeſnes, and therefore ſeveral churches near us, are dedicated to *Becket*; and built in and about *Henry* II. time. Mr. *Peck* tells us, of a chapel of this ſort, on the ſouth ſide of the bridge, at *Stamford*, founded 1174. it ſtood over the bridge.

*Gretford* church in my neighbourhood, is dedicated to *Becket*. 'tis built in form of a croſs; in the porch ſome of the firſt rectors were buried, as was the cuſtom. it cannot be doubted, but this and all churches ſo dedicated, were built in *Henry* II. time, or very ſoon after. there is a man's and a woman's head on each ſide the inward door of the porch or church door, on the ſouth, and likewiſe on the outſide, the porch door. both man's and woman's are exactly like theſe of the time we are ſpeaking of. the woman's head ſquare at top, a ſhort vail, the folds not reaching the ſhoulders.

*Bernake* in our neighbourhood is a very antient church, which belong'd to the great *Waltheof* earl of *Northumberland*, by him given to *Croyland*.

In a chapel on the north of the quire, in the wall, perhaps older than the preſent quire, though not ſo old as the original parts of the church, lyes two effigies's in ſtone, a man in armour, and his wife. I take them to be *Ralf de Bernake* and *Roiſia* his wife, who contributed to the rebuilding of *Croyland* abby in the time of *Henry* I. as recounted in *Peter* of *Blois*. the woman's head-dreſs is exactly like what we have been deſcribing, and has a circular chaplet round the top. the man was a croiſader.

The church of *Burton* coggles near us, is dedicated to *Becket*, therefore of the age we are writing of. within the ſouth porch, under the arches of the door leading into the church, are a man's and woman's heads. the woman's has our vail on, though the face is almoſt rubb'd off. but on the ſouth ſide of the upper leads, are a man's and a woman's head in the ſtone-work disfigur'd with ſpouts in their mouths, to carry the water off. the woman's has the ſquare vail on. likewiſe at the eaſt window of the quire, is a man's and a woman's head. the woman's ſquare at top, with a chin-cloth, crimp'd elegantly.

*Baſingthorp* hard by, is likewiſe dedicated to *Thomas Becket*, and *Weldon, Northamptonſhire*. under the arch of a window, without, on the north ſide, over the charnel houſe, a man's head and a woman's: the latter with the head-dreſs, we are diſcourſing of. all theſe churches are of like architecture. and from their manner, we can eaſily ſee what other churches near us, are of the ſame age. in many of them, are theſe ſame heads to be ſeen: but enough on this head.

After Mr. *P*—— has diſcharg'd his whole battery: then, like the *French*, he ſings *Te Deum* without a victory, and thus recounts the execution he has done, in the ſix following corollarys.

1. " It appears then, ſays he, that there was an oratory with a hermit's " cell at *Roiſton*, in the *Saxon* age, long before the time of lady *Roiſia*, ſo " that ſhe could not have any part in the founding of it.

I anſwer. this is a chimerical aſſertion of his, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon to countenance it: and of which he has not given us one jot of a proof: as I have moſt copiouſly ſhewn. and that the whole ſtream of authority of all the great antiquarys, who have ever wrote, are againſt him;

the

the evidence of domeſday book is againſt him. if there be any ſuch thing as reaſon in the underſtanding of mankind ; if there can be any evidence in the nature of things, or credibility of hiſtory : it is fact, that lady *Roiſia* founded it, in the time of *Henry* II.

2. " It appears, ſays he, to have been the oratory of ſome one, or of " a body of hermits and continued to be ſo, till its diſſolution, in the " reign of *Henry* VIII.

This whole paragraph is a collection of portentous abſurditys, a body of hermits is falſe ſenſe, falſe language. a hermitage in the market place of a great and trading town, is the moſt egregious contradiction. " it is " almoſt incredible, ſays the excellent Mr. *Camden*, what a multitude of " corn merchants, maltſters, and the like dealers in grain, do weekly re- " ſort to this market, and what a vaſt number of horſes laden with corn, " do on theſe days, fill all the roads about it.

Now can any man of a ſound mind think, that great numbers of theſe market people, and travellers crouded between the women, with their butter and eggs, to go 30 foot under ground, for their devotions ? the entrance is under the very bench which the women ſit on, in the very market houſe, and the church is but a bow ſhoot off. and that a man can fancy this body of hermits, continued to officiate here, till its diſſolution under *Henry* VIII. what a dream muſt this be, a thing of which not the leaſt memory is left in the town ? no doubt but it was worth while, for *Henry* VIII. to diſſolve it. I wonder Mr. *P*—— did not give us the yearly valuation of it, out of the augmentation office. but when a man can conceit this, to be the *heremitagium de Barkway*, and call'd ſo in the time of *Henry* VIII. that he can write and print and believe all this, is matter of aſtoniſhment, rather than of debate.

3. " It appears, ſays he, that the imagery bears abſolutely a relation to " ſacred, and not to prophane hiſtory.

'Tis true, in my explication of the imagery, I have recounted S. *Laurence*, the *Virgin*, our *Saviour*, S. *Joſeph*, S. *Paul*, S. *Katherin*, S. *John* twice, the *Virgin* twice more, our *Saviour* repreſented on the croſs four times, S. *Chriſtopher* ; beſides a cardinal, a biſhop, *&c.* but theſe are not

ſaints

ſaints enough, in our author's opinion. he never ſaw on painted glaſs in churches, prophane hiſtory, as he calls it, or carvings, of whimſical figures, and altogether immodeſt. he never ſaw a king, or a queen, or hardly a lyon or a unicorn : painted in a church.

4. " It appears in part, ſays he, what images were enjoined to be in " religious places ſet apart for worſhip, where the proper *ſtation* of ſome " ſaints was. and that the lady *Roiſia* had no part in the carving of them: " out of any private family view.

The fore-part of the concluſion fully opens the grand ſecret of this renown'd publication. turn to page 66. *the priveleges of mother church* want to be reſtored. the worſhip of ſaints, and more ſaints, their *ſtations* muſt be again eſtabliſh'd and a mulriplicity of altars, in theſe places. a new *Britiſh* or *Saxon* viſionary ſaint *Rohenia* muſt be canoniz'd. 'Tis pleaſant to obſerve the reaſon he gives; becauſe *Conan* duke of *Britany* and *Richmond* founded a religious houſe at *Rowney*. now *Conan* was a *Norman*, and what had he to do with *Britiſh* or *Saxon?* deplorable it is to make one's ſelf the canal, for papiſts to convey to the publick, in *England*, their reſentments, their invitations, or their tenets!

As for his *ſtation* of ſaints, he ſaid, p. 62. that S. *Chriſtopher's* was at the north weſt end of a church : and ours is the north eaſt. p. 58. he ſays, the ſepulcher was on the north eaſt ſide of the chancel : that which here he fancys the ſepulcher, is on the north weſt. he is juſt as happy in the other part of the concluſion, that lady *Roiſia* had no part in the carving of them, out of any private family view, or to repreſent any hiſtory of her own time. I ſay only in anſwer, and aver it, that lady *Roiſia* may have carv'd every part of them, for any thing he has or can prove to the contrary. the reſt I leave to the reader's judgment.

5. " Laſtly it appears, ſays he, that the lady *Roiſia* was not buryed " here, but at *Chikeſand* in *Bedfordſhire*.

This I largely and with the fulleſt conviction to a reaſonable perſon, prov'd to be a concluſion, much too weighty to be laid upon *Leland's* authority. I do not queſtion *Leland's* veracity. he ſaw perhaps an inſcription of that nature, intimating her to be the founder ; perhaps, there was

was her image there. perhaps a cenotaph, perhaps her heart was buryed there. any of theſe conſiderations come up ſufficiently to his evidence. and I ſhew'd a wood of inſtances of the like nature, and where *Leland* has been alike miſtaken, in a caſe exactly ſimilar. but that lady *Roiſia* was buryed in her ſepulchral chapel at *Roiſton*, I believe, as much as that a body was found therein, which the whole town is witneſs of: or that I had a ſcull, nay her ſcull in my hand. I may ſay, every page in my firſt book, as well as of this, proves it: as well as ſuch matters can be proved. I would ask our antagoniſt how he would account for a body being thus regularly buryed in the place, in ſo large a quantity of the pureſt garden mold; conſiſtent with his notion of the place being diſſolved in the time of *Henry* VIII? who would be at the expence of carrying 150 load of fine mold into it, for the ſake of burying one body? why ſhould they do it? where ſhould they get it? why ſhould this be done, in the middle of the town, when the church and church yard is ſo near? but in lady *Roiſia*'s time, there was no church, no church yard. nor could they with any reaſonable conveniency, get ſo vaſt a quantity of fine garden mold, at any other time, than when this place was a down of chalk, cover'd with the native and delicate turf.

Theſe things are abſolutely unaccountable, upon any other *hypotheſis* than mine. the regularity and ſimplicity of my whole ſcheme ſhews the probability of it: whilſt the oppoſite abſurditys, mere inventions thro' the whole book, ſhew, 'tis impoſſible that his ſhould have any proper degree of probability, ſo as to merit the charge of printing, or any attention when printed.

# CHAP. IX.

——— *quod ſi*
*frigida curarum fomenta relinquere poſſes,*
*quo' te Cœleſtis ſapientia duceret, ires.*
*hoc opus, hoc ſtudium: parvi properemus*
*& ampli.* Hor.

*The entrance of the cave as now. The cave a moſt noble monument of* Engliſh *hiſtory. The hiſtory of its founder. An explication of the imagery. Figures cut there,* 1170. *A group made* aug. 10. 1173. *A group cut* feb. 2. 1176. *A group cut* nov. 25. 1177. *A group cut* jul. 25. 1185. *A group cut* jun. 23. 1187. *Figures cut* 1188. *Of the* Beauchamp *arms again. The flat helmet. Head-dreſſes and habits again. Mr.* P——s *faith and charity.*

WHEN the petulancy of our adverſary, forced me to this preſent anſwer, the more I conſidered and read about it, the more light ſprung up continually, toward confirming and illuſtrating my former account of the ſubject. I endeavour'd at the very firſt, to contract my writing about it, as much as I could. I have done the ſame, by this anſwer, yet it has grown under my hands much more than I deſign'd. for tho' conjectures may be made agreeable: yet to be tedious in them is a fault. however I ſhould not be juſt to myſelf, if after I have been buſy, in ſetting my opponent's work in a proper light; I ſhould not make a recapitulation of my own: and thereby exhibit them together, before the reader, in order for his paſſing judgment.

I have almoſt done with the diſagreeable part, finding fault: therefore with a calm and placid mind, may now invite the candid reader again to deſcend into lady *ROISIA*'s venerable receſs: with a mind like hers,

hers, who has ſeen the ſolly of the hurrys of publick life, and worldly ſplendors: retiring to the more agreeable buſineſs of contemplation; unmov'd at the malice of cauſeleſs enemys; and in obſcurity protected from envy.

I have carefully conſider'd the affair of our ſepulchral chapel. 'tis a great work, and requir'd the purſe, of one in high circumſtances, to make it nor could the purpoſe of ſo coſtly a deſign, be mean. ſome have been childiſh enough, to fancy this no other than a priſon, made by thoſe of the priory. and that the figures here cut, were the amuſements of ſome *there* unfortunately confin'd. as it they who had a knife and time, to cut theſe figures, could not have ſpent their time and pains, in cutting a way out.

One cannot imagine, it ever belong'd to the priory. 'tis agood diſtance; the ſtreet or way to the church, and a watering pond between. perhaps the firſt paſſage into it, was by that place brick'd up, on the eaſt, to be ſeen in my firſt plate. for thereby probably they drew out all the chalk, as they cut the place by degrees, more and more downward. when that was compleated, they made up the paſſage with good maſonry, turning it as handſomely as they could, to conform to the arch of the bell. therefore the only true and deſigned entrance, was the preſent one, which had a ladder at bottom, as now. we often ſee the ſtaircaſes in churches, up to the rood loft, contriv'd in this ſame manner: with a ladder at bottom. and the well of the ſtair-caſe, ſcarce more in diameter than ours.

Our adverſary agrees in allowing it to be an original entrance; though he has omitted it, in copying my plate, for what wiſe reaſons I know not; unleſs he fancys thereby, to make the world believe, he himſelf deſign'd it. this entrance is like a well, about 12 foot deep, about two foot diameter. 'tis monſtrous to fancy this, as a publick entrance, into a publick chapel. the thing ſhews itſelf, as clear as the meridian ſun, that it was made for the purpoſe I aſſign it, a ſepulchral chapel. that it was to be entred, but now and then, by a ſingle perſon, on ſome particular days; many of which we may very eaſily aſſign, as the anniverſarys of ſaints. particularly the *podium* for proſtration, ſhews plainly the purpoſe of her going there. it muſt be only a ſlender woman that could go down: and the grave ſhews ſufficiently, the final purpoſe of making it; to be buryed in

it, and the whole to be cloſed up as it was: and ſo intirely forgotten. and all this muſt needs be, before there was any town. for how can it be imagin'd, by a ſober perſon, that any one, even a lady of the ſoil, ſhould dig ſuch a deep cavern, in the middle of a narrow ſtreet of a large town, in order to be buryed there? would not the magiſtrates rather confine her, as a perſon not ſenſible of what ſhe goes about.

But on the other hand, upon ſuppoſition of the fact, being as I make it, the whole appears as a regular, a wiſe, and pious deſign. and the imagery, as I explain it, is exactly conformable to what the hiſtorians of that very time, unanimouly deliver. 'tis as a moſt noble and authentic monument, and evidence of *Engliſh* hiſtory, extremely valuable, and highly to be accounted of. and whatever was that ladys view, who on reading my book in *France* (as I was informed) came over ſea, on purpoſe to viſit ſo remarkable and curious an antiquity; I doubt not, but ſhe thought her pains repaid: for ſhe muſt be a perſon, that had an elegant notion of things.

What I then publiſh'd, was with modeſty and caution. I have learnt much more about it ſince, and can write with greater confidence. I have as much conviction about the truth of my *hypotheſis*, as the nature of ſuch things will admit. and ſome part of my conviction is owing to my antagoniſt, whoſe ſpleen, after all his diligence, and that of his coadjutors, could furniſh him with no better arguments againſt it, or rather no arguments at all. I ſhall therefore with great brevity, make a recapitulation of the whole affair, with ſome addition. beſpeaking a reader of common candor, that expects no other proof, then theſe things will naturally bear. I ſhall not repeat what I wrote in my former work, but refer the curious reader to look that over firſt. here I only add, what further occurs to me, on each particular.

Lady *ROISIA de Vere* (whoſe family and fortunes I have ſufficiently inlarg'd upon) in the decline of life, having buryed two husbands, great men; her children all ſeperated from her; retreated to her houſe at *Nuſels*, two little miles off the croſs, ſhe had formerly ſet up, here, and which from her, was called commonly, *Roiſes* croſs. no doubt, but ſhe had formerly liv'd at *Nuſels*, perhaps when firſt a widow, in king *Stephen*'s time, and then, moſt likely, erected her croſs; a work as magnificent, as

became

became ſo great a perſonage. her husband *Magnaviles* eſtate, king *Stephen* had, for the moſt part ſiez'd on, for his attachment to *Maud* the empreſs. this, was her firſt dower from *Magnavile*. we may then well imagin, ſhe ſet up this croſs between the years 1145. and 1150. her husband *Magnavile* was kill'd in *auguſt* 1144.

About 20 years after ſhe had ſet up this croſs, ſhe being a widow again, return'd to reſide at *Neuſels*. ſhe certainly could not chuſe a more agreeable place and country, being the fineſt chalk down high ground, diverſify'd with riſing hills and valleys ; a lovely proſpect, all round. Though *Roiſton* was not then in being, yet the place muſt be a very great thoroughfare, where two of the greateſt roads in *England* met. and 'tis natural to imagine, where ſo fine a turf will invite one to walk, one ſhould often direct ones ſteps to theſe great roads, for the amuſement, which paſſengers afford: and particularly to her own croſs: being all her own ground.

By degrees, ſhe entertain'd thoughts of cutting this campaniform chapel in the chalk cliff; deſtining it for her buryal place. I apprehend it was about the year 1170' that ſhe frequently went down there, to meditate on her latter end, and for devotion. her favourite ſon *William de Magnavile*, was at this time, with the king in *Normandy*. and he was equally a favourite with the king.

Though I ſaid in my book, that ſhe built a cell here, and took upon herſelf an aſcetic life: yet I did not in the leaſt mean, that ſhe became a hermite and lived there altogether. my meaning is ſufficiently explain'd, p. 44. " here in my opinion, debaſing herſelf from the honours " of her illuſtrious houſe, and the ſumptuous way of living ſhe had been " accuſtomed to, ſhe *often* chang'd worldly ſplendor, for an humble cell " and this gloomy cave.

I ſay there, it was *ſomewhat* in imitation of her grandfather, and ſome other near relations of hers, who took up the monaſtic habit. her grandfather *Alberic de Vere* founded the priory of *Coln*, *Eſſex*: and conſecrated himſelf to religion therein. her brother *Gilbert de Vere* was abbot of *Selby*. another brother lived and dy'd a religious in *Chike* abby. he wrote of the miracles of S. *Oſith*. another brother was biſhop of *Hereford*.

'Tis evident, I meaned only on thoſe particular days, which ſhe dedicated to devotion here, that ſhe frequented the place. it was neceſſary, that a cell ſhould be built, over the entrance of this ſubterraneous chapel. but that the place of her reſidence was *Neuſels*. p. 47. I again fully ſhew my notion. " that after the death of her ſecond husband, ſhe retreated to " her mannor houſe of *Nuſels*, and delighted herſelf in walking over the " beautiful turf of this chalk country. that ſhe frequented the place by " the croſs, for 20 years. that ſhe went thither on particular days for me- " ditation and devotion. and form'd the reſolution of being buryed there, " in a place she had ſo long conſecrated by acts of religion." p. 49. I mention her *frequenting* the place.

Having premiſed this, that the reader may carry in his mind a proper notion of her way of life here; the whole work of the imagery within this chapel, as explain'd by me, appears the moſt caſy and natural a deſign that can poſſibly be imagin'd. the writing over the head of queen *Maud's* tapiſtry does not better explain the hiſtory there, in this manner. TVROLD HIC DEDITARMA WILHELM HAROLDO EDW REGEM ECCLESIA S. PETRIAPLI HICRESIDET HAROLD REX ANGLORVM STIGANT ARCHEPS STELLA HICEST WADARDVS ODO EPS WILLIELM ROBERT, *&c.*

P. 40. I ſuggeſted my opinion concerning that figure which I call lady *ROISIA*; above her a crucifix, by the ſide a biſhop. 'tis in the II. plate juſt above the two ſepulchral figures in the *podium*. I ſuppoſe the crucifix might mean the croſs, she erected here. there are four figures cut by the ſide of it, and another underneath, which may mean the travellers or ſpectators. and the biſhop may poſſibly mean a real conſecration of the place. both crucifix and biſhop are imperfect, therefore not worth while to dwell upon them. but in caſe this was the truth, I would imagine theſe figures being toward what we may call the upper-end of the chapel, and oppoſite to the entrance, were firſt cut by our lady, and about 1170.

'Twas about this time, as I apprehend, ſhe began this aſcetic cuſtom. 'Tis difficult in theſe our days of licentiouſneſs and irreligion, to form a notion of the piety, of the times we are writing on. there is no idea left of it

it at preſent, among our great ones, who have thrown off even the very appearance of religion, in that moſt deteſtable practiſe of travelling on ſundays. it was a happy difference between them and us, if they inclined to ſuperſtition. I recommend the reading *Giraldus Camb. cap.* 30. of *Ireland*, about ſanctifying the ſabbath: he lived at this time. this induc'd them to found religious houſes, in great number, magnitude, and revenue. infinite numbers went to *Jeruſalem*, to fight againſt the *Saracens*, with the ſame intent: or contributed largely to it, or vowed to do it. many great men's images we ſee in churches croſs leg'd: on this account. even kings and great men abandon'd the world, and conſecrated themſelves to religion. they were always building churches and chapels, and generally lived lives anſwerable to their works: rightly thinking that religion is their real life. to particularize only in monarchs: our great king *Henry* II. when a dying, caus'd himſelf to be carryed into the church, before the altar, where he confeſs'd his ſins, and prayed, 'till he expired. his ſon young king *Henry* when dying, cauſed himſelf to be laid on a bed ſtrewed with aſhes, habited in ſackcloth, with a rope about his neck, and in that poſture gave up the ghoſt.

In the weſtern part of our oratory is carv'd a larger crucifix in a ſquare tablet. S. *John* ſtanding on one ſide, the holy *Virgin* on the other. this we may call the altar of the place. 'tis in imitation of thoſe painted and portable altars, of this and later times, which we ſometimes ſee, made with folding doors. *Matthew Paris* deſcribing S. *Alban*'s ſhrine made now, mentions the crucifix with *Mary* and *John*, in relievo work. *vit. abb* S. *Alb.* p. 92. another, p. 108. there is another ſuch an altar, but a little later in time, pictur'd in *Montfaucon*'s *monumens* abovementioned. all the ſaints in this chapel have a croſs cut in the lower part of their garments.

I have a portable altar-piece in alabaſter, high raiſed relievo work, antient. 17 inches high, of the ſame manner as that I have given above, with *John Baptiſt*'s head. at bottom the three figures of S. *Katherin.* S. *Margaret* with their ſymbols; S. *Audrey*: all well carv'd. above, S. *Helena* with the holy croſs, and many virgin martyrs. in the lower part of their garments, are ſmall holes, where ſilver croſſes were fix'd.

At the bottom of our *Saviour*'s croſs, in lady *ROISIA*'s altar, is cut a ſaltire or S. *Andrew*'s croſs: which may perhaps regard the family

abby

abby at earls *Colne* (where ſhe was born) founded by her grandfather, to the honour of S. *Andrew*.

By what I can find, our devout lady (as I have ſaid) began to make and frequent this place toward the year 1170. (to pitch upon an even number) the end of this year *Becket* was murder'd. *Matthew Paris* begins the year at *Chriſtmas*, and makes it 1171.

When I review'd what I wrote, to explain the imagery in our chapel, it furniſhed me with a new argument, to perſuade myſelf of the real truth of the ſcheme. for I interpreted the whole circle of figures, as done in a ſucceſſive order, from left to right, in the method of common reading and writing: which is extremely natural: and adds great ſtrength to the probability of the whole. we can hardly refuſe our aſſent to it, or ſcarce think any matter of antiquity better prov'd.

I ſhall repeat no more than the heads of what I wrote in my book, to avoyd tautology, but with ſome material additions. and to this purpoſe I have reprinted my plates, ſomewhat corrected, to accompany the account.

* *A. D.* MCLXXIII. *auguſt* 10.

Next to that figure, which I hinted to be lady *ROISIA* herſelf, by the croſs, and the firſt cut, of any in the chapel; is S. *Laurence* repreſented, ſtanding, with the gridiron, his ſymbol, and inſtrument of his paſſion, in his hand. underneath him, the figure of the upper-part of a king, with a *fleure* crown; his arms ſpread forth, as in fear and amazement.

After our great monarch *Henry* II. had got rid of the troubles accruing from *Becket*'s death: he thought himſelf in a ſtate of perfect happineſs and tranquility. he had juſt conquer'd *Ireland*, ſettled his great dominions on the continent, to his mind; and ſeemed to be at the higheſt pitch of grandeur. but the *French* king taking advantage of the uneaſineſſes of *Henry*'s ſons, form'd a moſt dangerous confederacy againſt him, which portended no leſs than an abſolute dethroneing. *Normandy* was aſſaulted by the king of *France*, aſſiſted by the earl of *Flanders*, *Boloign* and *Blois*.

*Henry*'s ſon *Richard* raiſed the greater part of *Guienne*, to rebel. his ſon *Geffery* made an inſurrection of the *Bretons*. the king of *Scots*, according to cuſtom, by the inſtigation of the *French*, made an irruption into the northern countys of *England*. the earl of *Leiceſter* landed at *Southampton*, with an army of *Frenchmen*. young king *Henry* was at *Gravelin*, with an army of *Flemings*, waiting for a fair wind to invade *England*. many of the *Engliſh* nobility ſided with this grand alliance againſt the king.

*Statim poſt paſcha*, ſays Hoveden, *exarſit nefanda proditorum rabies, ipſi enim furore diabolico debacchati, circumquaque devaſtabant igne & gladio, terras regis angliæ ciſmarinas, & tranſmarinas.*

Marvalous was his prudence and courage that extricated him out of this formidable confederacy. the particulars I refer to the hiſtorians, as not my preſent buſineſs.

Thus our monarch a youth, when duke only, *anno* 1151 was attack'd at once, by *Lewis* king of *France*, by *Euſtace* ſon of king *Stephen*, by *Robert* earl of *Perch*, by *Henry* earl of *Champaign*, by *Geffery* brother to young *Henry*. theſe had in imagination ſwallow'd him up, divided his eſtate among themſelves: yet he ſoon clear'd himſelf from them all, with great honour.

Lady *ROISIA*'s family, both fathers and husbands were remarkably loyal and true to the king. particularly her ſon *William Magnavile* now earl of *Eſſex*, was one of his chief counſellors and generals. in the beginning of this year 1173 he was one that ſwore, on the part of the king, to the treaty with *Hubert* earl of *Maurienne*. *Hoveden*. *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in-law was another of the king's truſty friends. the laſt and moſt memorable defeat of the *French* king was at *Vernoul*, as I have at large related it, p. 29. where the moſt abandon'd treachery is joined with every unkingly quality. this great defeat was on S. *Laurence*'s day, and cut the ſinews of the grand confederacy againſt *Henry*.

At this time, no doubt, lady *ROISIA* redoubled her prayers and vows, for the king's ſucceſs, on which the ſafety of her houſe, and all her friends depended. ſhe thought her own life, not otherwiſe ſecure, in her obſcure retreat. with a thankful heart to heaven, ſhe cut this picture

of S. *Laurence* and the *French* king, to commemorate all the happy events of that year, eſpecially ſo great and important a one, which gave ſo much joy to the king's friends and fear to his enemys: reſtored peace and ſecurity to the whole empire of *Henry* II.

This was the way of that time, to form an *æra* remarkable, by the ſaint's day, on which it happen'd. and they fancied, the ſaints had a hand in puniſhing mankind, for flagrant crimes committed on their days. I mention'd one, p. 31. out of *hypod. Neuſtriæ* of S. *James* puniſhing the perfidy of *Mathew* earl of *Boloign*, this ſame year. he had ſworn fealty to *Henry* II. nevertheleſs he join'd the *French*, in attacking our monarch. his oath was perform'd on the reliques of ſaints (as then was the cuſtom) and particularly on the hand of S. *James*, at *Reding* abby: therefore was he kill'd that very day, for his perjury. ſays *Walſingham. A. D.* 1133 king *Henry* I. gave the hand of S. *James* to his abby of *Reding*. *Matt. Par.*

There is another ſtory in *Benedict* abbot, pertinent to our ſubject. the Scots in their invaſion had committed a horrid outrage in the church of S. *Laurence* at *Werkworth* in *Cumberland*. the ſame day, ſays he, God reveng'd the violence and injury offer'd to his martyr, by the capture of the *Scots* king, at *Anwic*. this was the year after, *viz.* 1174.

Let us then debate a little, upon this picture in our chapel. we cannot have a proper notion of the works of theſe times, unleſs we be acquainted with the notions of theſe times. they had then, the ſame extravagant opinion of the ſaints and their reliques, as the papiſts have now. the form of their oaths, as now that for the choice of the emperor, ends in, ſo help me God and all his ſaints. in queen *Maud's* tapiſtry before mention'd, duke *William* takes a very ſolemn oath of *Harold*, that he would keep the crown of *England* for him, after the death of king *Edward*. *Harold* ſtands between two cheſts of reliques of ſaints, in the church of *Bayeux*, where this tapiſtry is now kept. there he takes the oath, laying each hand on a cheſt. therefore they ſuppo'd (to ſpeak the moſt favourably) that God puniſh'd perjury, to revenge the injury offer'd to his ſaints. ſo our excellent author *Benedict*, words it.

From

From this notion of things, they could not in a better manner, make a deſign, eſpecially ſo compendious a one, to expreſs and commemorate this great event of the flight of the *French* king, than lady *ROISIA* has here done, in theſe two figures. duke *William* caus'd *Harold* to take the aboveſaid oath in the moſt ſolemn manner, in the cathedral of *Bayeux*, adminiſter'd by *Odo* his brother the biſhop, before all his court, and the eccleſiaſtics. yet only two perſons depicted in the tapiſtry, the duke and the earl.

Some may perhaps fancy, this picture of lady *ROISIA*'s may be as well apply'd to the taking of the king of *Scots*, as to the flight of the *French* king. I anſwer; the picture it's ſelf ſhews otherwiſe; expreſſing by its arms expanded, a fright and a flight: an attitude not at all ſuitable to the king of *Scots* capture. beſides king *Henry* was not concern'd in that action, but his lieutenant. nor was it by far of ſo near a concern, ſo intereſting a nature to our lady *ROISIA* as that other, where her ſon and relations were all perſonally concern'd: where her heart overflow'd with joy, for an event, that ſav'd her king, and country, and family, and even herſelf.

Were theſe two figures the only ones in this chapel, it would be difficult to fix them upon this event: but when we conſider the whole imagery, of which this is only a part; when we ſee the circle fill'd up in a regular manner, with ſtorys of the ſame nature, equally relative to the ſame perſon, that cut them; to her time: graphically deſcribed in the authentic hiſtory of that time: we may, with all the aſſureance, poſſible in ſuch matters, affirm this to be the real truth.

*Rex Francorum, cum ſciret regem anglorum eſſe potentiſſimum & animo amarum*, fugam inire *potius, quam pugnare decrevit. & ſic a facie regis anglorum* fugiens, *intra galliam ſe cum* feſtinatione *recepit*. Matt. Par. *ſicque ad dedecus & ſempiternum ſui opprobrium, cum exercitu ſuo, viliter & ignominioſe* anfugit; *non auſus expectare impetum exercitus regis angliæ*. Bened. abb.

Why our lady ſhould thus cut off the *French* king, by the middle, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould give an anſwer. ſhe had ſome reaſon perhaps, perhaps none. but 'tis childiſhneſs and ignorance to affirm, there

is any ſimilitude, between this figure, and the emperor on S. *Laurence*'s ſteeple in *Norwich*, in TAB. VI. that figure can ſhew but his upper-part, becauſe his lower-part is behind the ſaint, and the gridiron. the poſture of the king and the emperor are abſolutely different, and their ſituation, their action and the paſſion deſign'd by it.

The ſame year on the 24th of *ſeptember*, *William de Magnaville* earl of *Eſſex* ſignaliz'd himſelf in taking priſoner, *Ingeram Caſtellan de Trie*, a great man, one of our king's enemys. *Hoveden.*

*A. D.* MCLXXVI. 25. *january.* 2. *februaru.*

This year began with an univerſal joy to the whole kingdom, as *Matthew Paris* tells us. the king had ſubdu'd all his foes, foreign and domeſtic ; brought his rebellious ſon, the young king over with him : the ſame table entertain'd them both, the ſame bed-chamber. they made a progreſs thro' the kingdom *pacem ſingulis & juſtitiam tam clericis quam laicis promiſerunt & id opere compleverunt :* they promiſed the kings peace and juſtice, both to clergy and laity, and in deed fulfilled the ſame. *William de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* was with them. he was with the two kings on paſſion day, the year preceding, when the young king fell down before his father, and did homage and ſwore fealty to him. *Bened. abb.* at that ſame time *Philip* earl of *Flanders* and *William Magnavile* took the croſs, and vow'd a journey to the holy land. and at this time *Roger de Hoveden* was chaplain to the king.

The beginning of this year was exceeding memorable, by our great monarch, who was himſelf an excellent lawyer, providing for the due execution of the laws. for in the end of *january*, he held a great parliament of all the nobility temporal and ſpiritual, and of the commons of the realm ; and in the moſt ſolemn manner enacted, what was called the aſſize of the realm. i. e. they appointed the ſix circuits, or aſſizes ; pretty much the ſame as has been uſed ever ſince. To entertain the reader's curioſity in ſo great an event, as this was, ſo uſeful to the public weal, I have drawn out a comparative ſcheme of it, as then, from *Hoveden*'s annals, and as now practiſed, according to the publication of it in the *Gazette*, this year.

| 1176. | 1745. |
|---|---|
| | *Norfolk circuit.* |
| *Norfolc.*<br>*Suffolc.*<br>*Cantebrigeſire.*<br>*Huntedoneſire.*<br>*Bedefordeſire.*<br>*Bukinhamſire.*<br>*Eſtſexe.*<br>*Hertefordſire.* | Bucks.<br>Bedford.<br>Huntingdon.<br>Cambridg.<br>Norfolk.<br>Suffolk |
| | *Home circuit.* |
| *Kent.*<br>*Surrie.*<br>*Suthanteſire.*<br>*Suthſexa.*<br>*Berkſire.*<br>*Oxenfordſire.* | Hertford.<br>Eſſex.<br>Kent.<br>Suſſex.<br>Surrey. |
| | *Oxford circuit.* |
| *Herefordeſire.*<br>*Glouceſterſire.*<br>*Wireceſterſire.*<br>*Salopsſire.* | Berks.<br>Oxford.<br>Gloceſter.<br>Monmouth.<br>Hereford.<br>Salop.<br>Stafford.<br>Worceſter. |
| | *Midland circuit.* |
| *Lincolneſire.*<br>*Notinghamſire.*<br>*Derebiſire.*<br>*Staffordeſire.*<br>*Warwikeſire.*<br>*Northamteſire.*<br>*Leiceſtreſire.* | Northampton.<br>Rutland.<br>Lincoln.<br>Nottingham.<br>Derby.<br>Leiceſter.<br>Warwick. |

| 1176. | 1745. |
|---|---|
| | *Weſtern circuit.* |
| *Wilteſire.*<br>*Dorſete.*<br>*Sumerſete.*<br>*Devonia.*<br>*Cornubia.* | Devon.<br>Cornwall.<br>Somerſet. |
| | *Northern circuit.* |
| *Euerwikeſire.*<br>*Richemundeſire.*<br>*Lancaſtre.*<br>*Copland.*<br>*Weſtmerilande.*<br>*Northumberlande.*<br>*Cumberlande.* | York.<br>Lancaſter. |

The intelligent reader will be able to make proper obſervations on theſe liſts. our lady *R O I S I A* has commemorated it, by that group of figures, next to S. *Laurence* ; the three uppermoſt meaning the Purification of the bleſſed *Virgin:* and the undermoſt the converſion of S. *Paul. Poſt natale domini*, ſays Hoveden, *in feſto converſionis ſancti Pauli venit Dominus rex pater, uſque* Northamton, *&c.* from *Benedict abbot* we learn more particularly, that this great aſſize was done at *Clarendon*, on the day of the *converſion* of S. *Paul*, and promulgated at *Northampton*, on the day of the *purification*.

There may be particular reaſons unknown, why our lady thus recorded this matter in her oratory. I hinted, that her father had been a very eminent man in the law, and lord chief juſtice of *England*. a great lawyer, ſays Mr. *Echard. in cauſarum varietatibus exercitatum*, ſays *Matt. Paris*. a ſpeech of his, recited in *Malmſbury*, p. 103. and in *Daniel*, p. 60. no doubt but her ſon the earl of *Eſſex*, had a due ſhare in this important tranſaction. but probably one conſiderable reaſon was, that her great friend and relation *Richard de Lucy* juſticiary was the chief projector of the whole plan. In the 10th year of our king, upon recognition made by the king, of the antient laws of the realm, he was one of thoſe who undertook for the king's obſervance of them.

There

There was a very great intimacy as well as relation, between his family and our lady's. they were too, both of the ſame party. *Ranulf de Bohun* earl of *Cheſter*, was nephew to our lady, by her aunt *Maud de Vere*, daughter to *Aubrey de Vere*. I. earl of *Guiſnes* who came in with the conqueror. his ſon *Hugh Kivelioc* earl of *Cheſter* married *Beatrice*, daughter and co-heireſs of *Richard de Lucy*, who was lord chief juſtice of the realm. her firſt husband's father *Gefferey de Magnavile* and *Richard de Lucy* were mediators between the abbot of S. *Albans* and *Albany* earl of *Arundel*, *Matt. Par. vit. abb. S. alb.* p. 88. *Richard de Lucy* did the king moſt eminent ſervices, in the year of the great confederacy againſt him, above ſpecify'd. he with his relation *Humphrey de Bohun* the king's conſtable, totally routed the traiterous earl of *Leiceſter*, with his adherents, and ten thouſand *Flandrians*, which he had brought over with him. *Hoveden. Camden*'s *Britt.* p. 369.

After this, the beginning of the next year, *Richard de Lucy* demoliſh'd the town of *Leiceſter*, and all the king's enemys thereabouts; therefore deſervedly was he ſtyled, councellor of ſtate, chief juſticiary of *England*, and protector of the kingdom in the king's abſence.

This *Richard de Lucy* was related another way to lady *ROISIA*. his eldeſt daughter *Maud* was married to *Robert* I. *Fitzwalter*, whoſe daughter was married to lady *ROISIA*'s ſon *William de Magnaville*. he was her neighbour, as well as relation. he built the caſtle of *Onger* in *Eſſex*. juſt by is *Norton Mandevile*, as belonging to the family of her husband: whoſe caſtle of *Pleſſey*, is but a little way off.

In 1178 this *Richard de Lucy* founded the abby of *Erith* in *Kent*, and dedicated it to *Thomas a Becket*. the next year ſated with honour, and tired of worldly affairs, he ſurrendred all his great dignitys into the king's hand, and retired to his abby, and there ended his days. *Hoveden*, p. 337. *Matt. Paris. Weaver*, an eye witneſs, gives us an account of his body found there. p. 777.

After his death, the king made ſome alteration in the affair of the aſſizes; which ſhews, that the firſt eſtabliſhment was plan'd by *Lucy*. *Hoveden* gives it us, at large. but it did not laſt long. for the firſt ſcheme prevail'd, and continued to this day. and this carving before us, of lady *ROISIA*'s is a moſt noble monument of it. They

They that cannot enter into the genius of theſe times, like our antagoniſt, may not ſee at firſt, the propriety of it. but ſaint's days were the general kalendar of ſuch events as they wanted to remember. and much, too much was attributed to their power and intervention, in human affairs. for inſtance, when *Richard de Lucy* and his aſſociate *Humphry de Bohun* fought and vanquiſh'd the earl of *Leiceſter*, near *Bury*; they took along with them, the banner of king *Edmund* the martyr, *pro ſigno*, ſays *Hoveden*, *et ordinatis aciebus ſuis in virtute Dei & glorioſiſſimi martyris ſui Eadmundi, percuſſerunt aciem in quo Comes Leiceſtriæ erat.* and our moſt chriſtian king *Henry* II. went a pilgrimage the enſuing year, to S. *Edmund* at *Bury*, and to S. *Audrey* at *Ely*: as it were to make acknowledgement of their protection.

## *A. D.* MCLXXVII. 25: *november.*

Next is the figure of S. *Katherin* with the ſymbol of a wheel, as uſual. in the feſtival of *Eaſter*, 1175, *Philip* earl of *Flanders* and *William de Mandevile* earl of *Eſſex* lady *ROISIA*'s ſon, *Hugh de Lacy* and others took upon them the croſs; with many more nobles and commons, and vow'd to go to the holy land. After *Eaſter* this year, they went and obtain'd a ſignal victory over the *Infidels*, on S. *Katherin*'s day; which I mention'd at large in my book. The *Infidels* fancied, ſays *Benedict*, that they ſaw a celeſtial hoſt deſcend and fight againſt them. the chriſtians ſlew more than 100,000 of them, and took many priſoners. *factum eſt hoc prælium ad laudem & gloriam Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, anno ab incarnatione*, 1177. *in planitie de Rames, die ſancte Katerinæ virginis & martyris.* *Matt. Paris.* therefore our lady cut this figure of the ſaint, to commemorate that tranſaction, ſo much to the glory of her ſon; and for her to moditate on, upon the anniverſary; and to pay her vows, for the ſame. *Matt. Paris* acquaints us, this year, with the form of the vow made by the king of *England* and *France*, to go together to the holy land. this year *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in law went with *Joana* the king's daughter to be eſpouſed to *William* king of *Sicily*. king *Henry* II. was perſonally a lawyer, and this year made the award of the great controverſy, between the king of *Caſtile*, and king of *Navar*. *William de Magnavile* was a witneſs to it.

On

* On the right hand of S. *Katherin* is a great croſs. *Hoveden*, in his account of this victory, writes, that the *Infidels* ſaw our *Saviour*'s croſs, which the biſhop of *Bethlehem* carried before the chriſtian army, ſtretch'd its ſelf out miraculouſly up to heaven: which affrighted them exceedingly, and was one cauſe of their defeat.

I leave it to the reader's judgment, whether this or that account I gave before, of this figure, be moſt eligible: as likewiſe, whether it does not ſeem likely, that the great crucifix adjoining, or altar tablet, with the hearts and hands, may not regard the ceremony of vowing the croiſade, which was always done at the altar, and before a biſhop.

The next figures between this and S. *Chriſtopher*, muſt infallibly mean S. *Katherin* in priſon, and the dove feeding her. to diſpute this, is the greateſt impertinence, unleſs with pope *Innocent* X. we profeſs, we have never ſtudyed divinity. the wonderful victory obtained againſt the *Infidels*, wherein her ſon had ſo great a concern, being in the opinion of thoſe times, as now among the papiſts, much owing to the good-will of the ſaints, would induce our lady, to read over the hiſtory of her life, where this ſtory of the ſaint is recorded.

*Farnham* in *Eſſex* was the eſtate of the *Mandeviles*. the ſtory of S. *Katherin* is depicted in the windows, with *Latin* verſes underneath. *Salmon*'s *Eſſex*, p. 158. moſt probably owing to this memorable occaſion. This year, the kings of *Wales* did homage to our king *Henry*. and he made his ſon *John* king of *Ireland*.

Our author *Benedict abbot* being then prior of *Canterbury*, was this year made abbot of *Peterborough*. he built the moſt magnificent front of *Peterborough* minſter, as now it appears: except that chapel very improperly plac'd ſince, in the middle arch. this is the original idea of portico's in the front of cathedrals: as *Ely* dome, was the original of cupola's, in the middle of theſe edifices. this dome at *Ely* ſtands on eight columns. the capitals of each are adorn'd with hiſtorys, of the life and acts of S. *Audrey* well cut, in *baſſo relievo*. *Benedict* likewiſe built the chapel to *Thomas a Becket*, now ſtanding near the great gate, leading to the cathedral, of *Peterborough*.

*A. D.* MCLXXXV. 25. *july.*

Next, is the figure of S. *Chriſtopher*, almoſt under the deſcent into the chapel. the ſaints formerly, and now among the papiſts, were thought to have their particular provinces and powers, for the benefit of mankind. ſome to heal particular diſeaſes and the like. S. *Chriſtopher* had great power in preventing ſtorms, tempeſts, earthquakes and lightning, *&c.* and their dreadful effects. about the beginning of this year, in *april* was a moſt remarkable earthquake: which probably was the immediate occaſion of lady *ROISIA* cutting this figure. but the world for ſome years preceding had been exceedingly alarmed, with theſe miniſters of the divine vengeance.

In 1178 there was a very great deluge in our *Lincolnſhire Holland*, the old ſea-bank being broke, and the whole country deſtroy'd, *John abb.* of *Peterborough*, *chron. Mailros*, *Hoveden*. 1179 the church and city of *Rocheſter* burnt to the ground. a miraculous lifting up of the earth at *Greenhall* by *Darlington*. ſo that it ſtood like a tall tower from nine in the morning till even, and then fell down with a horrible noiſe, and left a deep pit, which remained. *Hoveden*. public calamitys abroad, as well as nearer. this ſame year 1179 there was a famine in the holy land, where it had ſcarce rained for five years together. *Fuller*'s *h. war*. 1181 there was lightning and thunder, great and terrible, tempeſts and inundations in divers parts of *England*, and a comet in *july*. *chron. mailros*. in 1184 and 1185 the aſtrologers alarmed the world exceedingly, about the great conjunction of the planets then approaching, in *ſeptember* 1186. in *libra*. which would produce earthquakes, famine, lightning, tempeſts, *&c.* *Hoveden* gives a large account of it, in proſe and in verſe, the compoſitions of thoſe times. *Benedict abb.* ſays, *Corumfiza* a *Spaniard* wrote of it: and frier *Anſelm* of *Worceſter*. there was likewiſe a remarkable eclipſe of the ſun. 1185 a great earthquake throughout *England*, ſuch a one as had never been known before, in the month of *april*. *chron. Mailros*. *Benedict abb.* an eclipſe of the ſun the firſt of *may*, ſo that the ſtars appear'd. *ib.*

Theſe matters would unavoydably fill mankind with dreadful apprehenſions, which perfectly well accounts for the image of S. *Chriſtopher* now cut here. and no doubt but it became a faſhion, to paint him in churches about this time. the great earthquake on 17. *kal. May* as *Benedict* tells us,

us, fixes S. *Chriſtopher*'s image to this year, as an indelible character of time: and what Mr. *P*—— would call a demonſtration.

'Tis a mere chimera with our antagoniſt, to make that croſs on the right hand of S. *Katherin*, to be a palmer's ſtaff, and an altar. for a palmer's ſtaff may be ſeen in every book of heraldry, under the name of palmer. but let him look on the picture of the ſeal of *Richmond* free ſchool, p. 254. of *obſerv.* on *Reg. hon. Richm.* and he will find a compleat pilgrim, with hat, beads, ſtaff and ſcrip. the ſtaff had two knobs upon it and a hook to hang their bottle on. whether this really be S *Chriſtopher*'s ſtaff, or our *Saviour*'s croſs in the holy land, we may well enough ſay, that all this part of our oratory, from this croſs, to S. *Chriſtopher* incluſive, belongs to the holy land hiſtory. and whoever reads the accounts of theſe times, will ſee how much it excited every one's attention: beſides that family concern, which engag'd lady *ROISIA*; her ſon's expedition. and further, at this time, *Roger de Mowbray* her ſon in-law, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in-law, were in the holy land. *Hoveden*, 1186.

This very year *Heraclius* the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* and *Roger* the maſter of the hoſpitalers came into *England*, offering our monarch the keys of the city, of the church of *Bethlehem*, of our lord's ſepulcher, of the church of the reſurrection, of the tower of *David*, and the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. *Matt. Paris*. *Baldwin* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ranulf de Glanvile* chief juſticiary of the kingdom, *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roan*, *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* and many other prelates and nobles of the king's dominions, here and beyond ſea vow'd the croiſade. *Hoveden*. in 1185 our *Henry* II. and the young king of *France*, reſolv'd to go on the croiſade, by the perſuaſion of the archbiſhop of *Trye*, but the *French* king's treacherous proceedings, broke their meaſures. this was in *january* 1186 at *Giſors*. king *Henry* ſent the archbiſhop of *Roan*, and *William de Mandevile* earl of *Eſſex* and *Albemarl*, *Ranulf de Glanvile* chief juſticiary to pacify him, and made a truce, to the feaſt of S. *Hilary* next. *Hoveden*. *Matt. Paris*. in 1187 *Richard* the king's ſon vow'd the croiſade. *Hoveden*, p. 363. in 1188 *Frederic* the emperor the like.

## *A. D.* MCLXXXVII. 23. *june.*

Next, we ſurvey that group of figures, containing a large piece of hiſtory, which finiſhes the whole circuit of our oratory. it relates to the pacification made that year, between our monarch and the *French* king. *William de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* and of *Albemarl* was one eminent in his counſels, and command of his armys, at that time. it was done by the pope's legate *Octavian*, who is well repreſented in pontifical habit, the croſs in his left hand, his right, in poſture of commanding. *Hugo de Nunant* the king's chaplain carrys the croſs, and holds up his left hand, in like commanding poſture. for they were order'd by the pope, to fulminate excommunication, againſt that power who appear'd obſtinate: that the buſineſs of the croiſade might not be hinderd. for the holy land was in the utmoſt danger of being loſt; and was indeed loſt immediately after.

" Thus *Benedict abbot.* on the day before S. *John Baptiſt*, they pre-
" par'd to fight: but by the mercy of God, and command of pope *Urban*,
" peace was made. for he had given his mandate for excommunication to
" thoſe that reſiſted. ſo the archbiſhops; biſhops, abbots, earls, and ba-
" rons aſſembled, of both kingdoms, would not ſuffer an engagment;
" but adviſed the monarchs to make a peace, or at leaſt a truce; accord-
" ing to the pope's iujunction. their counſel prevail'd, and a truce of two
" years was agreed on. *Hoveden* the ſame.

When I re-examin'd my plate by the original, I found the crowned figure on the right of *Hugo de Nunant* to be really the *French* king. for his crown is *fleure*, and he is cut off by the middle, as his father's figure under S. *Laurence*. ſo that we ſee our lady made it a point, thus to repreſent the *French* king. her reaſon I am not acquainted with; I will not ſay, it was a piece of female reſentment. there are ſome more imperfect figures ſcatter'd here and there, belonging to this group. but the principal are the two religious and the two kings. ours is dreſs'd in complete armor, and by looking carefully upon it, I diſcern'd the croſs, importing his having vow'd the croiſade. *Hugh de Nunant* is call'd biſhop elect, in the beginning of 1188. and conſecrated ſoon after. *Hoveden* p. 366. *Benedict abb.* in two places. ſo little reaſon had our adverſary to cavil about it, p. 32. *Nunant* is named among thoſe that were preſent, when the king of *Eng-*

*land*

*land* and *France* finally agreed about the croiſade: which ſhews he was at that time, beyond ſea. *Giraldus Cambr.* wrote *Nunant*'s life.

*Reges angliæ & Franciæ ſuſceperunt crucem 13 kalendas februarij.* 1186-7. *Matt. Paris.*

The two armys ſtand at a little diſtance, as ready to engage. the office of legate of the pope gave the party an authority to aſſume the higheſt honour and power. thus cardinal *John de Creme* coming into *England* in that quality, officiated in the cathedral of *Canterbury*, pontifically, in the place of the archbiſhop, though he was only a presbyter.

*Hugo de Nunant* had been ambaſſador three years before, to the pope. Mr. *P.*—— in his learned notes upon himſelf, at the bottom of p. 34. maintains, there was no image of a crucifix on the archiepiſcopal croſs: though at the ſame time, he acknowledges this figure once, to be archbiſhop *Becket*'s croſs bearer. look into *Stephanides*'s life of *Becket*, put out by my friend Mr. *Sparkes*, p. 42. there you find the archbiſhops croſs had a crucifix upon it, *crucifixi, quam tenebat, imaginem reſpiceret.* in the next page, *reſpecta crucifixi imagine* ſpeaking of the croſs of the archbiſhop.

## *A. D.* MCLXXXVIII.

We have the lower part of the imagery to finiſh, in TAB. III. beginning with the effigies of king *Henry* II. and *Elenor* his queen. this may be called the only original of him left, done whilſt he was alive, and by one well acquainted with him, perſonally. lady *ROISIA* was ſo exact, as to mark his collar. ſo the ornamental dreſs upon the queen's neck, is exactly like that of her effigies, on her monument at *Fonteverard*; which together with her husbands, is given by *Montfaucon.* on his left hand is another crucifix or altar-tablet of a ſmaller ſize, with S. *John* and the *Virgin* repeated: though it is under the greater altar-tablet. this ſhews how fallacious a notion Mr. *P*—— has entertain'd, concerning five diſtinct altars in this place. there ſeems to be an arch under this altar, where the croſs is, and the hearts, and hand, as before. moſt likely, this arch is the place of reliques under the altar, as then was the cuſtom.

I am perſuaded, this means the king vowing the croiſade, before the altar, as was the cuſtom. it was done 13. *kalend. februiary* 1186-7. *Matt. Paris*, as was hinted. and again before the archbiſhops of *Rhemes* and *Trye*. in 1188. *Matt. Paris*, *Hoveden*.

The holy land was intirely loſt laſt year, *Jeruſalem* taken, a general conſternation o'reſpread *Europe*, as appears by the letters of princes on this occaſion, to be ſeen in *Matt. Paris*, p. 149. *Hoveden*, p. 363, *&c.* our lady *ROISIA*'s ſon in-law *Roger de Mowbray*, was taken priſoner and dyed; her brother in-law *Hugh de Beauchamp* was kill'd.

Now the tenth penny was order'd to be collected of all moveables or perſonal eſtates, throughout the whole kingdom. and the king held a great parliament at *Gedington* in *Northamptonſhire* now the duke of *Montagu*'s, where theſe orders were promulg'd, and ſtrictly put in execution. this was on *Lady-day*, 1188. of all the biſhops, earls, barons, commons, and convocation. *chron. Mailros. Hoveden.*

There remains now to be conſider'd, only that long row of images, 13 in number, reaching from the loweſt and leaſt crucifix, to the grave: as we ſee them in TAB. III. I find not the leaſt reaſon, to change my opinion concerning them, in general, or in particular. our lady deſign'd them here, about this year 1188. as family pictures.

The firſt figure bears a ſhield with the arms of the *Beauchamps*. I aſſign'd it to be *Hugh de Beauchamp*, the father of lady *ROISIA*'s husband; who had been in the holy wars, and therefore took this coat. and at this time, coats were generally become hereditary. ſo *Montfaucon*, who ſays this was under *Lewis* VII. or the young, who began to reign, 1138. our *Fuller* lowers it ſomewhat. but this, as all ſuch matters muſt be underſtood to be done, not all at once, but by degrees. in his church hiſtory, p. 170. thus he writes, "coat-armor was fix'd in familys in the beginning of *Henry* III. finding before that time, the warlike devices of the ſons, not the ſame with the fancys of the fathers, and their grandchildren differing from both." my antagoniſt out of a wantonneſs of contradiction, will needs have it to be *Richard* earl of *Warwick*, in the time of *Henry* V. and pretends to give us his *title* to it. not only ſo, but carrys forwards the head of my genealogy, to this *Richard*. a moſt notable title

to

to a picture in a ſepulchral chapel! why could he not as well have made it *Thomas de Beauchamp* ſenior and junior, or *Guy de Beauchamp*, or *William de Beauchamp*, all earls of *Warwick?* I have a good reaſon (as it appears to me) why *Hugh de Beauchamp* ſhould be here plac'd. the ſame as would induce me to hang up my wife's father's picture in my parlor. but he gives us his will and pleaſure only for a reaſon; or a reaſon altogether as inconcluſive: *viz.* that he was a great friend to the order of hermites. and then to prove it, tells a tedious tale of this *Richard*, founding a chantry in *Warwickſhire* for two prieſts, to pray for his ſoul. this is all along his vague way of reaſoning. but this neither was a hermitage, nor did an order of hermites (as he ſtyles them) live here: or if it were ſo, does *Richard*'s founding a chantry a long way off prove, that he was a friend to hermites here, and none of them all in the leaſt prove, or ſhew any ſhadow of reaſon, why we ſhould believe this to be *Richard de Beauchamp*. and we may depend upon it that if I had made it, *Richard de Beauchamp*, he would have made it any body elſe: for contradictions ſake.

Suppoſe, I allow, that this figure is repreſented here, and in heraldical books, with this coat of arms proleptically and before he really bore ſuch arms: ſtill it is no more than what our antagoniſt himſelf has done, by his great friend pope *Sixtus*, (whom he makes double like the two *Soſia*'s) him he gives the *tiara* to, or triple crown, in our chapel, who liv'd *A. D.* 260. yet he owns, that the *tiara* was firſt worn by *Urban* V. in 1062. an anachroniſm in him, of 1100 years is nothing: but in lady *ROISIA* of 10 or 20 years only is unpardonable. now tis not impoſſible, that lady *ROISIA* ſeeing her husband bear that coat, might likewiſe affix it to his father. without having actually ſeen his father. but I cannot ſee the leaſt reaſon to disbelieve, that he actually bore it: as having been in the firſt croiſade: which gave him ſufficient title, as appears in next *cap.* when we ſpeak of the croſs in heraldry. but let us examine the caſe.

" *Hugh de Beauchamp* here pictur'd lived in the conqueror's time: yet " I ſay, that about the time of the ſecond croiſade 1177. they began to " take up arms, and that the croſſes had reſpect to the croiſades." therefore ſays my antagoniſt. " this figure cannot be *Hugh de Beauchamp*, " who lived near 100 years before."

'Tis

'Tis true, that I not dreaming of ſo ſevere a ſcrutinizer, expreſs'd my ſelf in a lax and general manner. which he greedily ſnatches at. tho' if he knows any great matter in heraldry: he muſt underſtand my meaning well enough. but that was not his task. the matter is thus.

Coat-armor became moſt famous and hereditary in familys, about the time of the ſecond croiſade in 1177. but it was in uſe at the firſt and a long time before the conqueſt. ſtill this, as all other things, became general and notorious, by degrees. coats of arms were firſt uſed with monarchs, then with nobles, laſtly with gentry. ſo they became hereditary, firſt with monarchs, then with nobles, laſtly with gentry. but this too, muſt be underſtood in a lax way. for inſtance.

King *Stephen*, becauſe he came into *England* under the ſign ſagittary, and gain'd his firſt battle, by means of his archers, he left off the bearing of *Stephen* of *Blois* his father, and of *William* the conqueror his grandfather, and took the figure of *Sagittarius*. *Guillim*. p. 213. this ſhews the mixt nature of coat-armor at this time, partly hereditary, partly arbitrary. and is an anſwer ſufficient to Mr. *P——s* argumentation from Sir *William Dugdale*: which gives him great exultation, in his 17th page.

But ſtill we muſt affirm, the firſt croiſade 1095 began to fix theſe matters. it made coat-armor neceſſary, for diſtinction of perſons when vizarded and cloathed in mail. and it is as natural for a ſon to claim the honour gain'd by his father, teſtify'd in his coat armor: as to claim his titles, and dignitys, or his mannors and eſtates.

The croſs croſslets are the *Jeruſalem* arms, the moſt inconteſtable mark of a croiſade. our *Hugh de Beauchamp* actually went in the firſt croiſade with *Robert Curthoſe* duke of *Normandy*. he is firſt nam'd and the only one, by name, by *Fuller*. what reaſon is there, that we ſhould doubt of his title to theſe arms, or that he actually bore them? did not *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle* brother to the earl of *Champaigne* bear a croſs *flore verry*, becauſe he went on the firſt croiſade? and did not *William le Gros* his ſon, father in law to lady *ROISIA*'s ſon *William le Magnavile* bear the ſame arms? and innumerable more on the ſame account. therefore to wrangle about this, is no more than empty cavil.

I have

I have many old folio manuſcripts of hiſtory, heraldry and the like, which were in the library of *Wyng field Bodenham*, the great antiquary and ... of heraldry. he lived at *Ryhal* near us. a curious gentleman, to whom *Guillim* gives a ſplendid character. to his collections we chiefly owe *Wright*'s hiſtory of *Rutland*. one of theſe manuſcripts gives an account, of all the nobility created ſince the conqueſt, to the beginning of our civil wars; with their coats of arms finely drawn and illuminated. p. 9. is our *Hugh Beauchamp* created by the conqueror, baron of *Bedford*, with theſe ſame arms. g. a feſs between ſix croſslets o. p. 10. is *William* or *Walter Beauchamp* his brother, who likewiſe came into *England* with the conqueror: and was created baron of *Elmeſley*. he bears the ſame arms, and is the anceſtor of *Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*.

Under *Edward* I. this manuſcript recites *William Beauchamp* baron of *Elmeſley*, who married *Iſabel* heireſs to *William Mauduit* earl of *Warwick*. the perſon, who Mr. *P*—— pretends, uſed not theſe croſlets: yet here his arms are depicted with them; and ſo if you conſult 100 books in the herald's office, you will find the like.

What he quotes from Sir *William Dugdale*, is of no manner of weight, *viz.* "that *William de Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*, who died in 1298. "bore for his arms, gules, ſeme of croſs croſlets, with a feſs or: which "croſs croſlets were by him added to his coat, *for his father uſed them* "*not.*" Sir *William* does not ſay, nor can it be prov'd, that *William de Beauchamp* firſt uſed the croſlets: or that they were not uſed before by his progenitors, though *his father uſed them not*. 'tis notorious to every body vers'd in theſe ſtudy's, that this coat is the moſt antient coat of the *Beauchamps*, and was uſed before this *William de Beauchamp*, or his father, on account of their *Jeruſalem* pilgrimages. For inſtance, *Fuller* in his holy war, p. 20 ſpeaks of a *Beauchamp* that went thither with *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, the conqueror's ſon, who was our very *Hugh*, here depicted in *Roiſton* chapel. *Daniel* mentions him, p. 48 of his hiſtory, as the leader of the *Engliſh*. *Roger de Hoveden* mentions 1186. a number of croiſaders going to the holy land, *Hugo de Beauchamp* lady *ROISIA*'s brother in-law. can it be doubted, that theſe *Beauchamps* uſed this coat?

I mention'd in page 13 of my book, that the croiſade humour began in 1096, when *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle* went with *Robert* duke of *Nor-*



*mandy*,

*mandy*, who was grandfather to lady *ROISIA*'s daughter in-law. he from hence bore gules a croſs *fleure verry* argent and azure. and ſo it is depicted in my fine manuſcript of *Wingfield Bodenham*'s, in the time of *William* the conqueror. the reader may ſee his picture at full length, in his military habit, adorn'd with this coat, ſtanding behind *William* the conqueror, holding the mace in his hand, in the 1. p. of *reg. hon. Richm.* publiſh'd by *Roger Gale*. the croiſade humour reviv'd again 1147. when *Aubrey de Vere* went to *Jeruſalem*, and *they* bore croſſes that went on that pious expedition, which was a great occaſion of coats armorial. and now *Aubrey de Vere*, lady *ROISIA*'s brother divided his coat by a croſs, for before that time, they bore firſt a *canton ſeme de fleurs de lis*, and then they plac'd a ſtar or mullet in that canton, which was another bearing, that regarded the croiſades. coat armor was borne before the croiſades, but thoſe expeditions made the faſhion more univerſal, among ſo many different nations, for diſtinction of perſon. in time, the faſhion became annexed to familys, and coats of arms hereditary: nevertheleſs after they became hereditary, 'tis notorious, that people chang'd them at pleaſure. ſometime a man left off his paternal coat and took that of his wife, or of ſome of his own or wifes anceſtors: ſometime they took one intirely new. thus *Bigod* earls of *Norfolk* from *Henry* I. time, bore parte p. pale o. and az. a lyon rampant g. but Mr. *Camden*, p. 317. ſays, one of them uſed a croſs. ſo the *Villiers* at firſt bore ſa. 3 cinqfoils a. but in the reign of E. I. Sir *Nicolas de Villiers* going into the holy land, changed it into five ſcalops o. on a croſs g. ſo *Berkley* family bore at firſt a plain chevron. on going into the holy land, they filled the field with 10 croſſes patte o. very many more examples may be brought.

And this conſideration alone is anſwer ſufficient to all our antagoniſt ſays, both now and when he reſumes this argument ( which as uſual he calls a demonſtration) when he comes to p. 67. then he is fond of repeating my fancied contradicting of myſelf.

For inſtance, he is again finding fault with the *Beauchamp* arms in our chapel. He ſays the *Beauchamp*'s branched out into many noble familys, and each branch had its particular arms. this is well known of the *Beauchamp*'s, and all other great familys. he ſhould have added, that particular branches were not conſtant in bearing the ſame arms, and therefore what he wants to deduce from his harangue, his argument like all the reſt,

reſt, is but a rope of ſand and draws no concluſion. after all his pretended complication of my errors and his own *demonſtration*, it ends in this. the perſon I ſay is *Hugh de Beauchamp*, he is (*as I conceive*, ſays he) the great and noble *Richard* earl of *Warwick* in the reign of king *Henry* V. and then he gives you his pedigree, chiefly copyed from mine, and deduced from *Eudo Dapifer*, *Gefferey de Magnaville*, lady *Roiſia* and the perſons that I wrote about. all the difference between us is, he has given us only lady *Roiſia's* firſt husband: for if he had ſet down her ſecond, he muſt have named our *Hugh de Beauchamp*, which is an abomination to him.

I have given a plain reaſon, or title why lady *ROISIA* cut the figure of this *Hugh*, becauſe her husband's father. he, to be even with me, tells us the title, this *Richard* earl of *Warwick* had, to be cut in this chapel. he makes him a deſcendant of lady *ROISIA's* firſt husband. therefore lady *ROISIA's* firſt husband's deſcent in the 9th generation had a *title* to be cut in the chalk here: but the father of her ſecond husband had no *title* at all. a very cogent reaſon this! and ſo he goes on, to tell a long tale of this *Richard's* being a friend to hermits, another *title* he had to this chalk-image: in ſhort, no man alive, but one occupy'd with a perverſe ſpirit, would trouble the reader with ſo much dull fuſtian which amounts to no more than this; Dr. *Stukeley* ſays, this is *Hugh de Beauchamp*, and though there appears a very manifeſt reaſon for it; yet I will have it to be *Richard de Beauchamp*, or any other *Beauchamp*, rather than the perſon he aſſigns. his beadroll of heraldical learning, p. 68. is much more judiciouſly accounted for in *Ferns Lacies* nobility, p. 46. where he gives the reaſons of diverſity of arms in the ſame and kindred familys. again, p. 67. *Lacy*.

What he ſays further about it, is the very profoundeſt dregs, new ſtirred up, of his wrong notion, of this place having been a hermitage chapel, and a public hermitage chapel too, in the very middle of a populous town, and in the very market place thereof; of which I have ſaid ſufficiently already. it needs no confutation more than the bare propoſition, to any reaſoning perſon.

To draw this debate into a very narrow compaſs, 'tis thus. he ſays, p. 17. that *William de Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick* who died 1298. bore the croſlets, but his father *uſed them not*. I add *Guido* his ſon earl of *Warwick*

bore *cheque* or and az. *a chevron ermin*, being the arms of the earl of *Perch* which *his father uſed not*. but *Thomas de Newburgh* earl of *Warwick* aforetime quartered it; from the wife of *Henry de Newburgh* the firſt *Norman* earl of *Warwick*. a whole figure of *Henry* may be ſeen in the firſt page of *Reg. hon. Richm.* ſtanding behind *William* conqueror. the ſon of *Guy* bore the arms of *Beauchamp*, as moſt antiently with the croſlets *but his father uſed them not*. now the common anceſtor of all theſe, *Walter de Beauchamp* baron of *Elmeſley*, Mr. *P*—— ſays, bore only gules a feſs or. but my manuſcript of *Bodenham*'s and many more books give him the croſlets. there were three immediate deſcents between this *Walter* and the earls of *Warwick* we have mention'd, and they poſſibly might ſome uſe the croſlets ſome not. but eſpecially we might be aſſur'd, thoſe that went the *Jeruſalem* peregrinations did. therefore 'tis the wildeſt work in nature, to build demonſtrations on ſuch diſtant, uncertain, and obſcure topics. and I dare to ſay, there is not a page in all Sir *William Dugdales*'s book, but with the engines uſed by Mr. *P*—— he might write a book as large againſt it, and as full of contradiction, merely arbitrary and licentious. but the figure itſelf in our chapel is much better proof and demonſtration, of the arms and perſon, than any he can bring againſt it. for there can be no greater right than having been a croiſader, and one of the firſt and moſt conſiderable.

But I muſt not forget his polite advice at the bottom of his 68 p. and why? he is proving that the numerous branchings of the *Beauchamp* family bore various arms. did I deny it? what is it to the purpoſe? but I mean before I have done, to make the reader ſome recompenſe, by giving a conciſe account of the original and meaning of the ſcience of heraldry. Mr. *P*—— may take the opportunity of being *better inſtructed*.

2. The ſecond figure I hold to be *William de Magnavile* father of her firſt husband. the former figure ſeems to be plac'd firſt, as near the altar, in regard of his having been ſo early in the holy war. I examin'd this figure carefully, and am ſatisfyed he has a helmet on, tho' Mr. *P*—— for luck-ſake makes it a cap. but this is the ſhape of the helmet uſed in theſe days, we are writing of: as I can ſhew by innumerable monuments: for inſtance. in *Matt. Paris*, juſt before the index, is the ſeal of the knight's templars, two ſitting on one horſe, with ſuch ſquare helmets. this was in 1118. in king *Richard*'s ſecond ſeal in *Speed*, his helmet the like.

In

In the church of *Burton* coggles aforeſaid, built in *Henry* II. time, is the ſtone effigies of the founder in armor, crosſleg'd, as having been in the holy war. he has this ſort of helmet on, flat at top, with a chaplet or chief around it, ſet with gems. he is cover'd with a coat of mail, over that a ſur-coat, and bend over his right ſhoulder: with a feſs or belt on; laying his right hand on the hilt of his ſword. this perſon had a tomb, like that of *Thomas a Cantilupe* biſhop of *Hereford* now remaining. it ſtood againſt the ſouth eaſt corner of the church. at the reformation, they took it down, and uſed the great ſtone which made the ſide of the tomb for part of the church wall next the ſtreet. 'tis a great ſtone ſix foot long, handſomely carv'd into ſix niches, in each the image of a knight in armor, with ſword and ſhield. all their helmets are flat at top. in the church is another ſtatue like that of the founder, which probably was his ſon, which lay upon the floor.

From ſuch as are certain, we may argue to thoſe we cannot directly prove. in my church of *Somerby* by *Grantham* is a crosſleg'd knight, over it a queen's head with a vail of the time we are writing of, both which we muſt therefore aſſign to this time.

On the eaſt ſide of *Iron-monger-ſtreet* at *Stamford*, is an old arched door ornamented with a man's and a woman's head. the latter is an elegant ſpecimen of the woman's head-dreſs at this time, a fillet round her head, above the vail. this was built in that time.

Mr. *Peck* about 1236. mentions the ſtrict orders ſent from biſhop *Groſteſt* of *Lincoln*, at this time, for the conſecration of churches: in this dioceſe. it indicates the new building of churches lately, whether *de novo* or on old foundations: and reconſecrating them: ſometime to new ſaints, as king *Henry* did by *Waltham* church.

See the tomb of *Brian Fitzalan* in *Bedale* church. depicted in *obſerv. reg. hon. Richm.* p. 242. he lived in the time of *Henry* II. his wife's head-dreſs like thoſe we are writing of. the ſide of the tomb cut into niches with figures and ſhields of arms like that in *Burton* aforemention'd. Mr. *Gale* writes, there was a *mauſoleum* over it, finely guilt and adorned: and ſuch probably at *Burton* coggles.

After lady *ROISIA* had thus ſet up the pictures of her two husbands fathers, the next made thoſe of the three ſons, ſhe had, by her firſt husband.

3. *Arnulf de Magnavile*.

4. *Gefferey de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex*, who was a man eloquent in ſpeech (ſo I correct *Dugdale*, p. 204) and of great abilitys. he was ſent with *Richard de Lucy* againſt the *Welſh*.

5. Her beloved ſon, *William de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* and of *Albemarl*; who lived all her life time. the other two dyed early. ſhe has obſerv'd a diſtinction in this figure, turning his feet both one way toward the next figure, his wife. he was a great man, both in the cabinet and in the field.

6. Her ſon *William de Magnavile*'s wife, that brought him the earldom and eſtate of the houſe of *Albemarl*.

Lady *ROISIA* ſeems to have had a great friendſhip with her ſiſter in-law, *Beatrix Magnavile*, here pictur'd: who married *William de Say*, and was the progenitor of the *Fitzpiers*'s, who took the name, honour, arms and eſtate of the *Magnaviles*.

8. 9. Two male figures diſtinguiſh'd from all the reſt, by two hearts cut on their breaſts. no mortal alive, but would take theſe to be her two husbands, except Mr. *P*—— who does not think like other mortals: and appeals to the college of heralds to diſpoſe of a lady's family pictures in her cloſet. then he brings a muſter-roll of trifling objections againſt my diſpoſition: as that two remain which I have not accounted for. this is falſe. I have accounted for the whole row, which is all that was neceſſary. it would be a wrong head that ſhould go out of the way, to account for imperfect ſketches, where we have no foundation for conjecture. he ſays, the *Vere* family, I have not taken notice of. this he obſerves out of a great regard (forſooth) of our ladys moral character, her filial piety. no doubt, but he is much concern'd about it, when he will not believe, there ever was ſuch a perſon. but his objection like the preceding is groundleſs. for I took notice of her filial piety, when I interpreted the two figures on the ſepulchral monument cut on the ground of this chapel, under that figure,

which

which I call lady *ROISIA* in TAB. II. and when upon re-examining my plates this year I conſider'd it a freſh; I diſcover'd the ſhape of a hand and heart ſtretch'd out a long ſide of the little tomb. and likewiſe a female head at the feet. I can't pretend to ſuggeſt any other meaning in it, than an expreſſion of her filial piety, toward the memory of her parents. and probably this was the picture of their monument in *Colne* abby chapel, which ſtill remains in ruins. Mr. *Weaver* gives us an account of it. p. 613.

What our objector ſays again, p. 74. that theſe figures do not belong to the time of *Henry* II. but to about the year 1400. which he deduces from the head-dreſſes of the men and of the ladies: this again is abſolutely falſe, and owing to ignorance, in the matter diſputed. look into *Montfaucon*'s *monumens*. there we find abundance of inſtances of the males and females habits and head-dreſſes exactly like theſe in our oratory. for an intire male figure, look into plate XXXIV. the time of S. *Louis*, 50 years after lady *ROISIA*. but the habit exactly the ſame. in the year 1200, a counteſs exactly the ſame, as our female figures. look in *Tome* II. *Tab.* XVII. figure 2. the intire figure of *Blanch de Caſtile* queen to *Lewis* VIII. 1220: the very ſame as the ladys here, bating the royal mantle.

I mention'd before, queen *Elenor* wife to *Henry* II. in her monumental effigies at *Fonteverard*, has the like vail on, and a chin cloth: her arms dreſs'd alike. ſo king *John*'s queen. ſo king *Richard*'s queen, without the chin-cloth.

In the II. plate of ſeals *reg. hon. Richm. Peter de Dreux* earl of *Brittany* and *Richmond*, has a flat helmet. his wife is in the head-dreſs and habit of this time, in the ſeal underneath. ſhe dy'd 1221.

We learn from that book of *Montfaucon* abnndantly, that the ſame habit both for men and women prevailed from earlieſt times, to our *Henry* II. and 100 years after. vol. II. plate XIX. king *Pepin*, queen *Berta*, *Carloman*, *Gerberga* his wife, all belonging to the 9th century, are exactly the ſame habit as ours; the men with a belt on their waiſt, the women a vail: a girdle, cloſe ſleeves on their arms.

Further,

Further, to quote inſtances in our adverſarys own way, from church windows. in 1745 I viſited *Balderton* church by *Newark*. the original church was founded by the biſhops of *Sidnaceſter*. that long ſought for place, I have ſhewn to be *Newark*. in a diſcourſe on that ſubject, not publiſh'd. all the eſtate of thoſe biſhops, devolv'd to the ſee of *Lincoln*, which now poſſeſſes a great part of it. *Balderton* is a prebend. the church porch on the north ſide, is of the original ſtructure, exactly like that of *Southwell* minſter hard by built by *Paulinus* the *Northumbrian* apoſtle. over the door, is the image of the *Virgin Mary*, carv'd in *baſſo relievo* the main of the preſent church and ſteeple, was built upon the old foundation, in the time of *Henry* II. by the biſhops of *Lincoln*, and the familys there, who had eſtates, under the biſhops: whoſe heads are carved in ſtone under the arches of the windows, as we may with good reaſon believe. the moſt eaſterly window on the ſouth ſide of the quire without, is adorn'd with the head of our monarch *Henry* II. crowned; on the right ſide, carv'd in ſtone: on the left ſide of his ſon *Geffery Plantaginet* biſhop of *Lincoln*, at that time under age. on the ſouth eaſt window of the church, are the heads of *John de Amundevile* and *Ermetrida* his wife, who was niece to the earl of *Albemarle*, and therefore cozen to our lady *ROISIA*. this part of the church, no doubt, was built by him. ſee the genealogy of this family, and of thoſe that married his heireſſes, in Dr. *Thoroton*'s accurate hiſtory of *Nottinghamſhire*, p. 184. they had an eſtate in this town.

In like manner in a ſouth window of the church, without, is the head of *Robert de Cheſney*, biſhop of *Lincoln*: who built that part of the church: he dy'd 1167. *Geffery de Plantaginet* ſucceeded him.

On another ſouth window, is another elegant female head, in the dreſs of the time, exactly conformable to the images of *Roiſton* chapel. I take it to be the head of *Hugh de Buſſy*'s wife. who lived here. he died 20 king *John*. on the outſide of the head-dreſs, is a ſquare hoop or fillet, as in the former of *Ermetrida*, a round one.

Within ſide the church, on a pillar of the ſouth ſide, is king *Henry*'s head again. *Robert de Cheſney* biſhop of *Lincoln* founded the priory of S. *Katherin*'s in the ſuburbs of *Lincoln*, to which he gave among other lands, three bovats of land in *Balderton*, with the farm-houſes thereto belonging: which king *Henry* II. confirme

In

In his time therefore this church was rebuilt, and finiſh'd by *Geffery de Plantaginet* who after a ſix years vacancy, ſucceeded him, paid off his mortgages, and compleated his works. the pewing of the inſide of the church is of the original work, and remarkably handſome.

Thus much I inſerted, to ſhew the uſe that may, with proper judgment, be made of the carv'd heads underneath arches, in our churches. but Mr. *P*——s concluſions from ſome groteſque heads in his church, are as changeable and uncertain as *Harlequin.*

But return we to lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband, *Geffery de Mandevile* mark'd 8. in TAB. III. I have a manuſcript of all the genealogys of the *Engliſh* nobility drawn up in an heraldic way, by the hand of the great lord *Burghley*. he wrote many books of this kind of pedigrees, and extracts out of the records of the kingdom : whereof this is one. he has this of our *Geffery* and his wife *Roiſia*. he gives us further, the empreſs's charter to him : in theſe words.

*Matilda imperatrix Henrici Regis filia & anglorum Domina conceſſit Comiti Galfrido Eſſexiam, ſicut Galfridus avus aut wilhelmus pater ejus tenuit. conceſſit etiam ei Turrim Lundoniæ cum caſtello quod ſubtus eſt, & vicecomitatum Eſſexiæ pro trecentis libris ſicut Galfridus avus tenuit. & vicecomitatum de Hertford pro ſexaginta libris. & vicecomitatum lundonie & Midleſexiæ pro trecentis libris. & etiam hereditabiliter juſticiarium Lundonie, Midleſexie, Eſſexie, & de Hertfordſhire. Teſtibus, Roberto Comite Gloceſtrie, Milone Comite Herefordie, Rogero Comite Cornubie, baldwino Comite Devoniæ, Gileberto Comite Penbrokie, Comite Hugone de Norfolkia, & Comite alberico.*

This laſt I ſuppoſe was *Mandevil*'s father in-law, the earl of *Guiſnes*.

9. Is lady *ROISIA*'s ſecond husband *Payn Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*.

10. The next figure is her ſon *Beauchamp* baron of *Bedford*. and the three remaining figures, are her three daughters by *Beauchamp*. theſe perſons are as eaſily and obvious to be named as poſſible, from the very ſpecies and number : as if their names were wrote over their heads, as in queen *Maud*'s tapiſtry.

The eldeſt daughter who enjoys the family jewel on her breaſt, was married to *Roger*, ſon to *Nigel de Albiny*, who took priſoner *Robert Curthoſe* duke of *Normandy*. he was ſon of *Hugh Gornay*. to *Nigel*, *Henry* I. gave the name, arms, title and poſſeſſions of the great *Mowbray* earl of *Northumberland*. this ſhews, arms were hereditary now. he is one of the witneſſes, together with *William* earl of *Albemarle*, *William* earl of *Eſſex*, and *Richard de Lucy*, to the arbitration made by king *Henry*, between the kings of *Navarre* and of *Caſtile*. *Hoveden*. 1177.

12. Her daughter who was married to the noble family of *Wake*.

13. Her daughter who was married to *William Fitzothes*, Son of *Ralf Fitzothes* a *Norman*, who came in with *William Rufus*, and of *Maud* his wife, daughter of *Gilbert de Gaunt*. lady *ROISIA*'s nephew *Robert* earl of *Oxford* had the wardſhip of this *William*. and by the king's direction, married lady *ROISIA*'s daughter, his niece to him. and his ſon was the famous *Robin Hood* ſo celebrated in our *Engliſh* poetry. *Gilbert de Gaunt* came in with *William* the conqueror, gave his daughter the earldom of *Kyme*, which afterwards deſcended to *Robert Humfrevil* earl of *Angus*, baron of *Prode* and *Redeſdale*.

The earlieſt of our ſongs and ballads reſound with the feats of *Robin Hood*, called earl of *Huntington*, to which earldom he had a pretence. I have added the genealogy, which is a curioſity of its kind.

# The Pedigree of *ROBIN HOOD* earl of *Huntington.*

*Richard Fitzgilbert* = *Roisia de Clare* earl of *Brien*

I.

*Waltheof* earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntington* = *Judith* countess of *Huntingdon*, the conqueror's niece

*Alice* = *Robert Fitzgilbert*

II. III.

1 2

*Simon de S. lis* I. earl of *Nothampton* and *Huntingdon* brought up by *Stephen* earl of *Albemarl.* = *Maud* = *David* I. king of *Scots*, earl of *Huntingdon*

IV.

*Henry* earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon* = *Ada* daughter of *William* earl of *Warren*

*Gilbert de Gaunt* earl of *Kyme* and *Lindsey* came in with the conqueror. = *Roisia*

V.

*Simon S. lis* II. earl of *Northton* and *Huntington* = *Isabel* dar. of *Robert Bossu* earl of *Leicester.*

*Walter de Gaunt* earl of *Lindsey*

VI.

*Malcolm* IV. king of *Scots* earl of *Northumberland* and of *Huntingdon*

*Gilbert de Gaunt* earl of *Lincoln* — *Avis* daughter and heir of *William de Romara* earl of *Lincoln.*

VII.

*William* earl of *Huntingdon*

VIII.

*Simon S. lis* III. earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northton. ob. s. p.* 1184. = *Alice* heiress

*Ralf Fitzcooth a Norman*, lord of *Kyme* = *Maud*

IX.

*David* earl of *Carrect* and *Huntingdon* son of *Henry* VI. (above) earl and of *Ada. ob.* 1219.

*Philip Fitzcooth* lord of *Kyme ob. s. p.*

X.

*John* firnam'd *Scot* his son, earl of *Angus* and *Huntington ob. s. p.* 1237.

*William Fitzcooth* brought up by *Robert* earl of *Oxford* — a daughter of *Payn Beauchamp*, and lady *ROISIA de Vere*

*Robert Fitzcooth* commonly called *Robin Hood* pretended earl of *Huntington. ob.* 1274.

*William de Clynton* created earl of *Huntingdon* 1337. *ob.* 1354. = *Juliana* countess of *Huntingdon* daughter of *Thomas Laybarn*

Now let us reflect without prejudice on this diſpoſition of theſe family pictures. and you will find it well done, without the help of a herald. the principal figures are her two husbands plac'd in the middle, with their children on the ſide of them reſpectively. ſhe has ſet the fathers of her two husbands firſt of all. the children of her firſt husband on the right hand, with her beloved ſon's wife, the heireſs of *Albemarl*, and her husband's ſiſter her intimate, cloſe by her. then on the left hand the children of her ſecond husband, a ſon and three daughters. we cannot deſire a plainer or more natural order and explication.

Theſe figures were made in the year 1188. when half the kingdom was ruſhing into the croiſade. ſo zealous then was mankind in the cauſe of religion? but this ſpirit rais'd in our monarch *Henry* II. and his people, was quench'd by the pernicious machinations of the *French* king, who broke the truce, ſeduc'd the king's ſons again to rebel.

This ſame year, *Hoveden* tells us, *Albemarle* the poſſeſſion of *William de Mandevile* was burnt by the *French*. He in return, burnt S. *Clare*: and a beautiful grove which the *French* king had planted. then the king of *France* cut down the fine elm near *Giſors*, where the conventions between the two monarchs us'd to be held: as if he meant never more to treat of peace. but indeed the *French* then as now, practiſed no faith, either in war or in peace: and uſed our brave king ſo unworthily, both by their own violences, and incouraging his ſon's rebellion, that it brought him to his end, the year after.

*William de Mandevile* carried the imperial crown, at the coronation of *Richard* I. he was one that ſwore to his meeting the *French* king, to go together into the holy land. *Ralph de Glanvile* chief juſticiary of the realm deſirous to undertake the croiſade, reſign'd his high office, and the king confer'd it on our *William de Mandevile*: but he dy'd in *november* the ſame year 1189 at *Roan*, and was there interr'd. the ſame ſtroke cut off our lady *ROISIA*, or rather, ſhe might probably die at the latter end of the year preceding, and was interr'd in this her ſepulchral chapel.

And thus we have finiſh'd the whole circle of the imagery, in an exact ſequence, a natural as well as chronological order: not leaping from one part to another, as our antagoniſt falſely ſuggeſts. we have deduc'd our interpreta-

terpretation of this famous piece of *Engliſh* ſculpture, from true hiſtory of the time, not from invention, groundleſs ſurmiſe, arbitrary aſſertion, monkiſh annals, or golden legend. well may it be eſteem'd the nobleſt monument of theſe times, any where extant, and deſerving our pains. here is a variety of events and tranſactions of a conſiderable part of a great lady's life, all relating to her king, her country, her family, conſign'd to theſe laſting characters. a writing in *baſſo releivo*. ſhe deſign'd it, as it were, for the lining of her tomb or coffin. wrap'd up in the arms of ſaints, of her deareſt friends, and relations, ſhe quietly laid her ſelf to long reſt. chance has produc'd theſe matters again to public view, and it demands a due regard. 'tis a manuſcript hiſtory never before publiſh'd.

We may conclude, though *Angelo* and *Bandinelli* might have made a more correct drawing; yet they could not have made a more ſignificant deſign, more conciſe, elegant and proper. they that endeavour to ſet this in a true light, have reaſon to hope for the candor of the public. and 'tis no mean thing to retrieve the life and acts and ſepulture of the great foundreſs of *Roiſton*, which eſcap'd the excellent Mr. *Camden*'s ſagacity.

From what Mr. *P.*—— writes, p. 32. I have no hope of perſuading him to it. he profeſſes from *Horace*, that he has neither faith nor charity. it would be a precarious thing, to interpret any one of theſe preceding groups only, and apply it to its reſpective event, as in the account above. but when we conſider the whole, it forces our aſſent, *defendit numerus*. and the moſt incredulous muſt needs ſay, with the *Italians*, *ſi non eſt vero, eſt ben trovato*.

I have only to add, on this head, that *John Colins*, eſq; collector of exciſe here, a perſon curious in coyns and other antiquitys, gave me a ſeal, found in our chapel, when they took the earth away. I have ingrav'd it in plate VI. 'tis of white earth like chalk or pipe-maker's clay, bak'd. I have a great many antient ſeals dug up in our abby yards and the like places. it was cuſtomary to bury their ſeals with the deceaſed, and this probably was what lady *ROISIA* carryed about her, for common uſe.

Mr. *Peck* gives us a ſeal of *Matilda de Dive* in the beginning of *Richard* I. ſhe is repreſented at full length. but much worſe deſign'd than lady *ROISIA*'s figures. 'tis ill drawn and ill underſtood. but we ſee enough to ſhew the habit and the head-dreſs to be the ſame as our figures at *Roiſton*. ſhe holds a *flower de luce* in her hand.

# CHAP. X.

*Attollens humero, famamque & fata nepotum.* Virg.

*The commencement of heraldry about this time. of the ordinarys or principles thereof. the chief, whence deriv'd. the chevron. the fess. barry what? the bend. the pale. paly, what? the cross, chiefly the origin of all heraldry. the saltire. escarbuncle. mascles, fusils, bordures, flaunch, maunch,* &c.

I Shall have the pleasure of speaking to the reader in this last chapter, without contention, at present. nor am I under any concern, if such, as without any provocation, or just reason, have contended with me, should do it again. though I have an aversion to wrangling: yet a causeless wrangler gives me no trouble: rather administers an agreeable amusement, in searching for the truth. we have been all this while, writing on the age, wherein heraldry took its rise. 'tis a curious subject, when stript of the pedantry, 'tis commonly put in. we have had occasion to speak of it already: and now with the gteatest brevity, purpose to open the spring head of it, clear'd from the weeds of affectation. we are extremely oblig'd to the professors of this art, for preserving to us, the genealogys and historys of the noble familys and others, of these remote times. 'tis a very great fault to discourage this laudable endeavour, as has been done for some time, chiefly by the gentlemen of the law. and they themselves will soon see the inconvenience of it, when they find an interruption, in these kind of records.

After the declension of *Roman* military disciplin, the success of arms became more owing to the hardiness of individuals, and particular warriors, than to the united regimen and co-operation of the whole. and the custom of being arm'd *cap a pe*, gave rise to heraldry. they were only the nobles and better sort, that could be at the expence of it. and the necessity of their knowing one another, and of being known to their own men, oblig'd them to invent these ornamental distinctions, and colors,

which

which became coats of arms, or coat armor, to particular perſons; and at length, deſcended to familys, as hereditary cogniſances. there might be drawn up a very fine and curious account of this matter and largely. but I intend only to give the heads of it, in ſhort: becauſe I do not find, that 'tis thoroughly underſtood, by thoſe that treat of it. and chiefly, I ſhall inſiſt on the fundamentals of the art, which they call ordinarys: being the chief lines and members of a ſcocheon: which *ordinarily* ſupport the innumerable ornaments and bearing of coat armor.

This is a ſtudy not unworthy of the beſt genius's. and ſcarce any deſpiſe it, but thoſe that have no family to boaſt of, nor hope for it. I mention'd the folio manuſcript of the great *Burghley*'s own compoſing and own writing, containing the genealogys of the whole nobility of *England*, and moſt of the foreign princes, drawn out with his own hand. and they that wrote memoirs of his life inform us, he much diverted himſelf with this ſtudy, and knew the alliances of familys both at home and abroad, perfectly well. no doubt, but 'tis an uſeful qualification for a ſtateſman, that he may underſtand their pretenſions and claims. and we diſcern the uſefulneſs of it, by the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, among other things.

*William* the conqueror, gave for his device, a lyon rampant againſt a portcullis, with *fortiter reſiſtendum*, beſide his coat armor.

*William Rufus* gave for his device, an eagle looking againſt the ſun: with this motto, *perfero*.

King *Stephen* gave a ſagittarius, ſometime an oſtriches feather in plume, with this motto, *vi nulla invertitur ordo*.

King *Richard* I. gave two lyons combattant: and ſo on his firſt ſeal in *Speed*. though in his ſecond the three lyons of *England*. when he went into the holy land, he took a creſcent and a ſtar.

We ſee here in ſhort, the origin and gradual change of heraldry, till badges, devices and coats became hereditary in familys: and generally ſpeaking fixt. but this is to be underſtood only in a general ſenſe. for every one had it in their power to change their arms.

I ſhall

I ſhall therefore give my thoughts of this matter, chiefly from inſtances of perſons belonging to lady *ROISIAs'* family and relations. and generally including all the moſt antient coats among us: my manuſcript of *Wingfield Bodenham*'s above mention'd, being very ſerviceable for that purpoſe.

Further, I copyed the famous *Tabula Elyenſis* (as I call it) being a painting of all the arms of the knights plac'd by *William* the conqueror in *Ely* abby. my friend Dr. *Knight* of *Bluntſham* has an antient painting of it. theſe with the figures in the *Reg. hon. Richm.* are ſome of our moſt antient monuments of theſe matters.

The foundation of armory called ordinarys, the firſt and moſt honourable bearings, is no other than the ſimple, military habit: 'till for diſtinction ſake, it was neceſſary to diverſify it, innumerable ways.

## I. *CHIEF.*

The firſt ordinary is the chief: being upon the upper part of the ſcocheon. a *French* word, deriv'd from the *latin caput, cappo in italian.* it means the head or any thing relating to it. the *cap. cappa* is an old *Latin* word for *cap: capitis redimiculum.* whence chaplet; any thing bound about the head, for uſe or ornament. ſometime this was a wreath about the helmet, of one or two colors. or a ribband, *diadema.* ſometime worn in civil, as well as military life.

*his manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi:*
*omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.* Virg.

which may be thought equivalent to our cockades. In *Montfaucon*'s *monumens* in the print of *Charles* the bald, about 850. the princes his councellors are repreſented with fillets about their heads, ty'd behind. in *Speed*'s hiſtory, king *Stephen* in his great ſeal, has a chief ty'd on his armed head, with two fillets flying from it, behind. ſee Mr. *Gales*'s firſt plate of ſeals of the earls of *Richmond. Conan* IV. *a. d.* 1170. has a fillet about his helmet. this being of different colours would diſtinguiſh ſo many great

great men, whoſe faces could not be ſeen, with a vizor cloſed. and theſe transferred to a ſhield in painting, became the *chief*, in the heraldic art.

*Geffery Plantaginet* earl of *Anjou*, ſon to *Fulk* king of *Jeruſalem*, and father to our *Henry* II. bore gules a chief a. which is ſaying that this family bore for their military habit and diſtinction, a bloody ſurcoat or taberd, upon the body of their armor, meaning the field of the coat; and a ſilver colord ribband or cockade, upon their helmet. in time, on account of the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, they added, over all an eſcarbuncle O.

*Ranulf Glanvile* chief juſticiary of *England*, under *Henry* II. he was ſucceeded in office by lady *ROISIA*'s ſon, *William Mandevile*: as he ſucceeded *Richard de Lucy*; her relation: he bore a. a chief indented az.

*Geffery Fitzpiers de Lurgerſhall* in *Wilts* married *Beatrix* daughter and heir to *William Say*, earl of *Eſſex*: who owned *Sabridgworth*, ſo called from him: he cauſed his ſon to be called *Mandeville*, as heir of that family of lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband; he bore a. a chief ſa. frette o. he dy'd 1216.

Sometime there was a bearing on the cheif: as *Geffery Clynton* lord *Clynton*, made ſo by H. I. bore a. a chief az. charg'd with two mullets o. which regarded his *Jeruſalem* peregrination.

*Gilbert* earl of *Pembroke* created by the conqueror, lived to king *Stephen*'s time; he bore a. a chief az. charg'd with three croſſes pate fiche, in like regard to his holy land expedition.

*Dodo de Lizures* time of king *Stephen*, bore O. a chief az. —*Lurginellus dux centum bipenniferorum* o. a. chief az. *Ely tablet*.

*Guillim* p. 40. gives us a coat *tenn*, a chief o. charg'd with a chapournet ermin, which is the pike or turning up of the cap, over the forehead. another, g. a chief. ſurmounted of another, o. being two ribbands of different colours, like our modern ſoldiers cockades, which may be ſaid to ſucceed in place of our chiefs. again o. a chief az. a fillet below a, which is no other than a double ribband.

## II. *CHEVRON.*

The ſecond ordinary in heraldry is the chevron, *cavrone in italian.* 'Tis very abſurd to derive this from the rafters and roof of a houſe. for what has that to do with art military? *Leigh* ſeems to ſmell out the truth, when he ſays, it was in old times the attire for the heads of women prieſts. he means the *mitra* of the antients. like to which in appearance was the vizor of a helmet in old times; when the face being open, the vizor is thrown upward, upon the top of the helm. and chevron may originally mean this piece of armory, which let down over the face, gave occaſion to the whole of heraldry.

Or the chevron may be the *French* word *chaperon*, we rightly, in *Engliſh* call it a hood: being open before, for the face to appear. it was made of mail, and thrown over the back of the neck, upon the ſhoulders, like a capouch, when not in engagement. 'tis call'd a heaulme or chapeau by *Fern:* which originally was not permitted to any, under the quality of a king, in blazonry. when they wore a real helmet, then they had a chevron upon it of cloth or ſilk lin'd with ermin, with taſſels, hanging down, ſometime turn'd up again at bottom, like our riding caps. this defended them from the ſcorching heat. among many ſignifications of the word chaperon in *French*, one is the cover or holſter of a piſtol, which is a good deal in ſhape and uſe like the vizor of an helmet.

Again, chaperon is a hood hanging upon the ſholders, ſuch as our graduates uſe in the univerſitys. *aliqui tiaræ genus eſſe volunt*, ſays *Minſhew* of a chevron.

We ſee the chevron or mailed helmet in *Speed*'s ſeals of king *Stephen* and *Henry* II. piked at top. we often ſee it hood-like, upon the top of the helm. in *Guillim* p. 48. you have a bearing o. a chevron in chief az. which is no other than a ſteel vizor, on a gilt helmet.

The *Staffords* in the time of *William* the conqueror bore o. a chevron gules. the meaning is, they wore a yellow taberd upon their armor, and a ſcarlet cap upon their helmet.

Lady

Lady *ROISIA*'s mother bore o. three chevronels g. by the name of *Clare*, earls of *Clare*. and in the *Ely table* of *William* the conqueror's captains, *Brian de Clare* bears it.

*Geffery Fitzpiers* als *Mandevile*, heir of the name and eſtate of lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband, bore g. three chevronels checke a. and az.

The earl of *Cardigan*, *Brudenell*, very ſignificantly bears a chevron g. between three chaperons az.

*Duchet dux architectorum* ermin a chevron g. *Ely ta.*

*Alexander de Monte* g. three chevrons o. *Ely ta.*

*Aumarus de longa ſpata* o. three chevrons g. in chief two lioncels ſa. *Ely tab.*

## III. *FESS.*

The third ordinary is the *Feſs*, from the *Latin faſcia*, *cingulum*, ſays *Minſhew*. a military belt, in which hang the ſword. the *feſs* is the order of knight hood. *Fuller* in his holy war, p. 269. has a chapter of the honourable arms in ſcocheons, of nobility, occaſion'd by their ſervice in the holy war. the duke of *Auſtria* bears gules, a feſs a. in memory of the valor of *Leopold* at the ſeige of *Acon*. where he fought ſo long, that his armor was all o'er gore blood, ſave the place cover'd by his belt. whereupon he and his ſucceſſors dukes of *Auſtria*, renouncing the ſix golden larks, their antient arms, had aſſign'd them by the emperor a feſs a. in a field g. as the hereditary coat of their family.

Hence we may perhaps collect, that *Hugh de Beauchamp* I. of whom we have ſo long diſputed, for his valour, bore in the holy land, a golden belt in a bloody field. after his return, he added the *Jeruſalem* croſſes.

*William Fitzosburn* high marſhal to *William* the conqueror bore g. a feſs o. o'er all a bendlet a. —O. a feſs between two chevrons g. *Anſelm* lord *Fitzwalt*. temp. conq. of whom *Walt. Fitzwalt.* related to lady *ROISIA*.

*William* lord *Percy* came in with the conqueror bore az. a fesſ of maſcles o. a whole figure of him n°. 3. in company of the firſt earl of *Richmond*, in the 1. p. of *Reg. hon. Richm.*

*Nicholas Uffet*, time of *W.* II. bore a. on a fesſ az. three *flowers de lis* o.

*Walter Clifford*, time of *H.* I. bore checke o. and az. a fesſ g.

*Warrin Vernon*, time of k. *Steph.* bore a. on a. fesſ az. three garbs o.

*Barry* is a kin to the fesſ. *Beatrix* ſiſter by the mother's ſide to *W.* conq. daughter of *Herlwin de Burgo* of *Normandy* and wife to *Alberic de Vere* I. bore barry a. and az. 'tis a ſurcoat made of horizontal ſlips of differing colors.

*Ralf de Meſchines* came with *W.* conq. bore barry o. and g.

*Gilbert de Gaunt*, time of *W.* conq. earl of *Lyndſey* bore barry o. and az. over all a bend g. anceſtor of *Robin Hood.*

*William Mandud*, time of *W.* conq. bore a. two bars g.

*Ranulf de Botevile*, time of *W.* conq. bore barre o. and ſa.

*Robert Eſtotevile*, time of *W.* conq. bore antiently barre a. and g. in time they added a black lyon.

*William Lovel* baron *Lovel*, time of *H.* II. bore barry wavy o. and g.

The *Molton*'s lord *Egremont*, time of *H.* II. bore barry a and g.

*Stephen Fergant*, time of *R.* I. bore barry o. and g.—O. two bars g. in chief three torteuxes by the name of *Wake* lady *ROISIA*'s ſon in law.

*Blundus dux* barre nebule ſ. and o. *Ely tab.*

*Paganus le lorain equitum ſignifer* barre of 8. a and az. *Ely tab.*

*Abrahamus*

*Abrahamus de pecam* g. a feſs between two chevrons a. *Ely tab.*

*Aimundus filius alani* barry of 10 o. and g. *Ely tab.*

*Gerardus de longo campo* g. a feſs o. *Ely tab.*

## IV. *BEND.*

The fourth ordinary is the bend, a band, ſcarf, or ſhaſh as now call'd, a military honour. *Guillim* calls a bend ſiniſter a ſcarp, ſcarf, *French* eſcharpe. the bend lyes over the right ſhoulder, whether it be a belt with the ſword hanging to it, as ſometime it has been worn, and very broad; or merely an ornamental ſcarf. 1268 *Alphonſo* king of *Spain* created an order of knights *de la banda*, who wore a red ſcarf over their right ſhoulder.

*Ranulf* a *Norman* came with *W.* conq. created earl of *Norfolk* bore parte per pale o. and ſa. a bend verre a. and az.

*Ralf Fitzooth* a *Norman* came into *England* in time of *W.* II. his ſon married lady *ROISIA*'s youngeſt daughter: whence the famous *Robert Fitzooth*, commonly *Robin Hood*: he bore g. two bends engrail'd o.

*Miles Fitzwalter* earl of *Hereford*, time of *H.* I. bore g. two bends, one o. the other a.

*Wm.* marſhal of *England*, time of *H.* II. bore g. a bend of maſcles o.

*Richard Brewer* earl of *Devon.* time of *W.* I. bore g. two bends wavy o.

O. a bend ſa. *Peter de Malolacu.*

O. two bends az. *Rob. D'oyley* conſtable to *H.* I. founder of *Oſeney* abby, and of *Oxford* caſtle.

*Philip* lord *Talbot* at the conqueſt bore bende a. and g.

*Robert* lo. *Greſley* came with *W.* I. bore g. a bend and two bendlets in ſiniſter quarter o.

*Harold* baſe ſon to k. *Harold*, baron of *Sudley* bore o. two bends g.

*Hugo de Monteforti equitum dux* bende az. and o. *Ely tab.*

*Adanus exercitus capitalis mariſcalus* g. a bend of maſcles o. *Ely tab.*

*Fiden de Furnivallo lumbardus* a. a bend betw. ſix martlets g. *Ely tab.*

*Mali ducentorum peditum dux* o. a bend ſa. *Ely ta.*

*Euſtachius le blanch* g. a bend of maſcles ſa. *Ely ta.*

*Euſtachius le nothus* az. a bend of maſcles a. *Ely ta.*

## V. *PALE.*

The fifth ordinary in heraldry is the pale, having its name from pall, *pallium*, reſembling the archbiſhops pall: which was a narrow ſlip hanging down before. the pall is the mantle falling down with a corner before: as is ſeen in *Richard* I. ſepulchral monument at *Fonteverard*, in *Montfaucon*'s *monumens*. and the pile is really no other. pale in military uſe was a ſurtout compos'd of perpendicular ſlips of differing colors: ſometime ſow'd together throughout, ſometime open here and there, that the armor might be ſeen underneath, like as in a *Spaniſh* ſlaſh'd doublet. ſo the effigies of the black prince, in *Canterbury* cathedral, engrav'd by *Elſtrake*.

Earl *Morcar* ſon to *Algar* the great earl of *Mercia*, meaning our *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire*; he was lord of *Brig-Caſterton* by us, and bore verry a. and az. a pale ſa.

*Walter D'evreux* came into *England* with *W.* conq. who created him earl of *Salisbury*, bore g. two pales verry a. and az. on a chief o. a lyon paſſant ſa.

*Geffery* earl of *Hinkley*, time of *W.* II. bore g. a pale o.

*Hugh*

*Hugh Gornay* a *Norman* grandfather to *Roger Mowbray*, who married lady *ROISIA*'s eldeſt daughter, bore pale o. and az.

*Hugh Bigod* earl of *Norfolk* time of *H.* I. bore parte p pale o. and az. a lyon rampant g.

*Wm.* earl of *Eagle* time of *Stephen*, bore pale g. and verry a. and az. a chief o. charg'd with three eaglets ſa.

*Hugh Longchamp* lord of *Wilton* time of *R.* I. bore verry or and az. two pales o.

*Fulk Warren* lord *Fitzwarren temp.* Jo. bore parte p pale and feſs indented, a. and g. counter chang'd.

*Simon Silvanect* the *Norman*, came in with conq. bore parte p pale indented a. and az. earl of *Leiceſter*.

*Urſois D'abtot* ſherif of *Worceſter* time of *W.* II. whoſe daughter and heir married to *Wm. Beauchamp* baron of *Elmeſly*, lady *ROISIA*'s relation: bore parte p. pale o. and g. three roundles counterchang'd.

*Pigotus tertius filius Bodet*, parte per pale o. and fa. upon a lyon rt. g. a bendlet az. *Ely tab.*

*Bevalius dux militum verſus Ely* a. a pale fa. *Ely tab.*

## VI. *CROSS.*

The croſs is the moſt honourable and chiefly the occaſion of all the reſt. arms were born, and diſtinctions of perſons, from the beginning: being devices, badges, generally emblematic of courage and valor. but they became not commonly hereditary, or family diſtinctions, till the time of the croiſades, as is agreed, on all hands. when our *Henry* II. and the *French* king took the croſs, with intent to make an expedition into the holy land; it was ſtipulated between them, that for diſtinction of nations,

nations, the *French* ſhould wear red croſſes, the *Engliſh* white, the *Flandrians* green. this was on S. *Agnes* day 1188.

But it was neceſſary to multiply theſe diſtinctions, more particularly. and then they invented great diverſity of croſſes and croſſings. our lady *ROISIA*'s family, *de Vere*'s anceſtors bore a quarter, or canton g. *ſeme de fleures de lis*, o. charg'd with a ſtar a. but now, after the croiſade, they parted their ſhield croſs-wiſe g. and o. preſerving the quarter with the ſtar. ſo born by lady *ROISIA*' s brother.

The *Beauchamp*'s her ſecond husband bore a military belt or feſs or, in a red field, charg'd with ſix croſs croſs-lets or. this was the *Jeruſalem* croſs, and regarded the croiſade : for the ſame reaſon, as *Wm. Romara* earl of *Lincolu* bore them in his arms. *Lacy*'s nobil. p. 35. or the earls of *Albemarl* and innumerable more. therefore our adverſary can have no more reaſon to deny our *Beauchamp* his coat armor, than the reſt : but for contradiction ſake.

Argent a croſs gules, being S. *George*'s croſs, became famous in king *Richard*'s I. time, when *England* was ſubjected to this patronage, from ſome fortunate omen taken from that ſaint; who was buryed at *Lydda* in the holy land.

*Euſtace Fitzjohn* parte p croix o. and g. a border verry a, and az. time of *W. Rufus*.

*Wm. Bonvile temp. Stephen Rs*, bore parte p croix o. and ſa.

*Stephen de Fortibus* brother to the earl of *Champaign* was by the conq. created earl of *Albemarl* in *Normandy*. his ſon *William le Gros* was earl of *Albemarl* and *Holderneſs* in *England*. his daughter and heir *Avis* was married to *Wm. de Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* ſon to lady *ROISIA*. they bore an account of their expedition of the croiſade g. a croſs flore verry a, and az. *Stephen* went to the holy war with *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, whence he took this coat. ſo *Wm.* earl of *Albemarl*, ſo our *Beauchamp* father to lady *ROISIA*' s ſecond husband. *Fuller*'s ho. war. p. 20. that author ſpeaks much of the croſſes, the conſequence of the ho. war. ſee *Drayton*'s *polyol.* p. 243.

*William*

*William* lord *Trusbut*, in the time of *W.* conq. bore az. a croſs pate o.

O. a croſs flore ſa. *Lamplugh* in the time of *H.* II.

O. a croſs pate fitche g. *Galfride de ſcudamore* time of *H.* II.

Parte p croſs o. and g. a bend of the 2d. *Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*, husband to lady *R O I S I A.*

O. croſs ſa. *Jo. Orynes* lord *Veſcy.* temp. conq.

O. croſs g. *Jo. de Burgh*, earl of *Ulſter.*

*Urſois* maſter of the conqueror's military engines, bore a. a croſs ſa. *Ely tablet.* he repaired the *Roman* camp ſouth of *Audrey* cauſy.

*Pezrel* captain of 300 foot g. a croſs flore a. *Ely ta.*

*William Say* lord *Say* who married as above, *Beatrix* ſiſter of *Geffery Mandevile* earl of *Eſſex* firſt husband of lady *R O I S I A*, he bore parte p croix or and g. afterward they added a lyon paſſant az. in the dexter quarter. his heir general *Beatrix* married to *Geffery Fitzpiers* of *Lugerſhal* in *Wilts* earl of *Eſſex*, and chief juſticiary. he bore parte p croix o. and g. a border verry.

O. a croſs az. *Bohun* earl of *Hereford.*

*Sewardus anglus prefectus* a. a croſs flore ſa. *Ely. tab.*

In *Montfaucon*'s plate XXXIII. fig. 4. *Henry* lord of *Mez* (a *mareſchal)* and knight receives the banner for the croiſade, from S. *Denis.* he has on, a *chaperon* of mail, thrown off upon his ſhoulders; to put on, in fight: upon his breaſt he bears azure a *croſs* ancre arg. over all a *bend* gules. he is *belted* with his ſword on. round his head the *filet.* here in this ſingle figure, you have nearly all the ordinarys in heraldry: and the principal occaſion of armory.

## The *SALTIRE.*

Is a croſs belt or ſhaſh, akin to the croſs : and taken on the ſame occaſion : the holy war.

*Geffery* lord *Botetort* in the conqueror's time, from whom is deſcended the earls of *Derby*, *Suſſex*, *Huntington*, *Berkley*, *Wentworth*, *Durſley*, *Ferrers*, *Willughby*, *Stapleton*, &c. bore o. a ſaltire ſable.

Parte p. ſaltier o. and a. a croſs forme az. *Hugh Pudſey* bp. of *Durham* juſticiary n. of *Trent* in time of king *R*: I.

*Tibetot* bore a. a ſaltire ingrail'd ſa.

*Nevil* ſa. a ſaltire a. *Hugh Nevil* went with king *R*. to the holy war and aſſumed thence the ſaltire, ſays *Fuller*. and hence the ſtatues of croſs-legged knights in our churches.

*Warin Fitzgerald* hence bears a ſaltire g. in a field a.

The eſcarbuncle is a croſs and ſaltire conjoin'd. the earls of *Anjou* from whom our *Plantaginets*, bore g. a chief a. over all an eſcarbuncle o. this from their croiſades.

Lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband *Magnavile* bore parte p croſs o. and g. an eſcarbuncle ſa.

Beſides the croſs and vaſt variety of croſſing, there were many matters relating to the holy war, which were occaſions of armory. as *Fuller* obſerves p. 270. *holy war*. many perſons who had coat armor, chang'd 'em for croſſes on that journey. many things were aſſum'd beſides croſſes : ſuch as eſcalop-ſhells, palmers-ſcrips, ſtaves, ſaracens-heads, mullets, &c.

*George Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*, ſays he, bore five ſcallop-ſhells on a plain croſs : ſpeaking of his predeceſſors valor in the croiſade. for Sir *Nicholas de Villiers* knight followed *Edward* I. thither, aſſuming this new coat. before, he bore ſa. three cinqfoils a. on the ſame account *John Mallet* lord *Mallet temp*. conq. bore az. three eſcalops. o. on like account the

the *Clyntons* earls of *Lincoln* added two golden ſtars on their chiefs. and my anceſtors the *Styvecle*'s of *Huntingtonſhire* three ſtars on their feſs.

Nor can we withold due praiſe from thoſe illuſtrious hero's, that went out of true piety on that hazardous expedition. whoſe names ought to be collected, and preſerv'd for a memorial to all generations. ſuch as *Simon S. lis* I. earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*. *ob.* 1153. *Walkelin de Ferrers* baron of *Okeham*.

*Philip de Albiny* who died and was bury'd in the holy land. Sir *Robert de Vere*. *John* lord *Mallet*. Sir *Frederic Tilney*. Lord *Dacres*, *Warin Fitzgerald*. *Ingelram de Fienes* who from thence bore a. 6 croſſes croſſe fitche ſa. *Amery de Montford*. *Hugh le Brain*. *William de Curci*. *Robert de Newburgh*. *Girard de Talbote*. *William Romara*. the earl of *Leiceſter*. *Hugh Nevil*. *Hugh Lacy*. *Turnham Touchet Pool Gornay Gray Liſle Ferrers Mortimer Berkley*, &c.

Theſe among an infinite number more, noble and ignoble, went thither to fight againſt the *Infidels*. ſee *Drayton*'s *Polyolbion*, g. 286.

After all the varietys and multiplicitys of ordinarys and croſſes, already ſpoken of: 'tis apparent, that it was ſtill neceſſary to multiply thoſe, and other methods into an infinite number of diſtinctions. one artifice was, for inſtance, after colors and ordinarys were exhauſted, to vary the ſhape of the out line by what they call invecked, ingrailed, waved, nebule, inbattled, indented, dancette, &c. and this was after the practiſe of the artificers who made their ſurcoats, and other matters belonging to their arms.

After this, they invented an infinite number of charges. for inſtance, ſome alluding to their names. *Richard de Lucy* lord chief juſtice, a neer relation of lady *ROISIA*, bore three lucy fiſhes o. in a field g. deſcended from *Lucy normanus admirallus*, in the *Ely tablet*, who there bears the ſame.

*Ferrars*

***Ferrers*** earls of *Derby* bore horſe ſhoes, alluding to the name *ferrariis*, farrier.

The *Veres* lady *ROISIA*'s family took a blue boar for their ſupporter, from *Verres* in *latin. Joannes Malmanus peditum ſignifer*, az. three ſiniſter hands coupe, proper. *Ely tablet.*

Others took the forms of animals, eſpecially ſuch as denoted fortitude. thus *Roger Mowbray* who married the eldeſt daughter of lady *ROISIA*, bore g. a lyon rt. a. langued az. a creſcent for difference. *Mabil* daughter and heir of *Robert Fitzhamon* 1148. married *Nigel de Albiny* lord *Mowbray* bore az. a lyon rt. gt. o.

***Robertus Normanus Mariſcalus*** o. a lyon rt. ſa. *Ely ta.*

***Rivers*** the ſame *temp.* conq.

***Talbotus 6 filius in legatione miſſus*** g. a lyon rt. and bordure O. *Ely ta.*

***William Daubigny tem.*** conq. g. a lyon rt. o.

*Walter de Lacy* the conquerors ſword bearer o. a lyon rt. g. *Ely tablet.* a whole figure of him in *Reg. hon. Richm.* no. 5.

***Pigotus equitum*** 300 *dux* per pale or. and ſa. a lyon rt. g. *Ely ta.*

*Elenor* qu. to *H.* II. bore g. a lyon rt. gt. o. the d. of aquitain and guien.

***Beaumondus equorum magiſter conqueſtoris*** az. ſeme de fleurs de lis a lyon rt. o. *Ely ta.*

*Iſabel de Ripariis* married *William de Fortibus* earl of *Albemarl* and lord of *Holderneſs* bore o. a lyon rt. az. double taild. he was ſon by *Avis* widow of *William Magnavile* earl of *Eſſex* the beloved ſon of lady *ROISIA.*

*Adeliza de Vere* ſiſter in-law to lady *ROISIA* wife to her bro. *Albery* III. earl of *Oxford*, bore g. a lyon pt. o. as dar. to *Roger Bigot* earl of the e. angles.

*Algar*

*Algar* the great earl of *Mercia* at the time of the conqueſt bore o. an eagle ſa. he own'd great part of our marſhland country of *Lincolnſhire* called *Holland*, whence, as I take it, the origin of the name and kingdom of *Mercia*.

Our *Henry* II. join'd his wifes lyon to thoſe of his father, and thence bore three.

There were many things belonging to armor beſides the ordinarys above-mention'd which were introduc'd into heraldry. *Maſcles* were a piece of mail. *Hubert de Burgo* earl of *Kent* and chief juſtice of *England*, who married *Iſabel* the widow of *Geffery Fitzpiers* alias *Mandevile* earl of *Eſſex*, heir to lady *ROISIA*'s firſt husband, bore g. 7 maſcles, verry a. and az. which was likewiſe the arms of *Wulnoth* brother to king *Harold*. *Fuſils*, the ſame, a. three fuſils g. the great *Montacute*, earl of *Salisbury*: anceſtor to the duke of *Montagu*.

*Bordures*, were a hem of a differing color round their military caſſock. *labels* round the neck thereof. and theſe charg'd with plates, rundlets, bezants, torteaux, *&c.*

A *Flaunch* was a guſſet of differing color, ſew'd on the ſides of the taberd, above the opening. the flank.

A *Canton* It was a piece of ſtuff, of a differing color ſew'd on the right ſholder of the taberd. earl *Alan* of *Britany* nephew to the conqueror bore cheque o. az. a canton ermin. his whole figure in the *Reg. hon. Richm.*

A. a canton g. *Clare.*

A *Maunch*, *manica* in *latin* was the ſleeve of the taberd. theſe were ſometime put on, when armed, ſometime not, as being an impediment to action. *William de Mohun* earl of *Somerſet* g. a manch ermin, the hand holding a flower de lis o. he was witneſs to *Maud* the empreſs's charter of the earldom of *Eſſex*, to *Geffery Mandevile* lady *ROISIA*'s husband.

*Haſtingus Miles* o. a manch g. *Ely ta.*

A. a manch ſa. earl of *Huntington.*

A *Fret* is the coat plated with croſs bars of iron. ſa. a fret or *maltravers*.

Sa. a fret a. *harrington*.

G. a fret o. *verdun*.

*Guido de ſancto leodegario* a. a fret a. chief o. *Ely ta*.

Gauntlets, ſwords, reſts, lances, pheons the barbs or phangs of arrows. ineſchocheons are ſhields, battle-axes.

*Dunſtan le gros* ſa. on a feſs and a canton a. a hatchet. g. *Ely ta*.

Helmets. water-budgets, very neceſſary in camps.

Theſe matters all manifeſtly belong to art military. beſide which innumerable, arbitrary fancys of private perſons.

*Joannes de Eboraco amalo* (Mauleverer) az. three greyhounds current a. *Ely ta*.

*Ranulfus miles germanicus* g. three cranes a. *Ely ta*.

*Bardolfus operatoribus prefectus* az. 3 cinqfoils pierced o. *Ely ta*.

——— *ſcutatorum laxatorum* g. three ſalts o. *Ely ta*.

*Pigotus* —— *ilium curator* ſa. three picks a *Ely ta*.

Sometime they bore ſeveral ordinarys together. as the great *Waltheof* e. of *Northumberland*, *Huntingdon* and *Northampton* in the time of the conq. bore pale o. and g. over all a bend ſa. he lived at *Conington* in *Huntingtonſhire*, and at *Ryhal* by *Stamford*, was beheaded by the conqueror and buryed at *Croyland*. his image now remains in the magnificent front of that abby. together with that of the conqueror, of lord *Turketyl* abovemention'd, and many other kings prelates, and nobles, very well carv'd.

*William*

*William Osburn*, marſhal in the army of *W.* conq. created earl of *Hereford*, bore g. a golden feſs over all a ſilver bend.

*Maud* daughter of *Gilbert de Gaunt* earl of *Lyndſey* was married to *Ralph Fitzothes*, ſhe bore barry o. and az. over all a bend g. whence *Robin Hood*, lady *ROISIA*'s grandſon.

Then they invented bearings conſiſting of variety of colors and thoſe diſpos'd into variety of forms. hence the cheque o. and az. of the earls *Warren*, who became lords of *Stamford*, and of *Grantham*. a whole figure of *Wm.* earl *Warren* in his taberd, ſtanding behind the conq. in *Regiſt. hon. Richm.*

*Willus comitis Warren frater* cheque o. and az. a bend a. *Ely ta.*

*Eneas de novo burgo*, lozenge o. and az. a border g. bezante. *Ely ta.*

*Nigellus de la fontana* ermin three lunets ſa. *Ely tab.*

I have finiſh'd what I propos'd: a ſpecimen of what may be ſaid on the origin of heraldry, deduc'd from the art military of theſe times we have been writing of. I have illuſtrated it from ſome of the moſt authentic records of this ſort, to be found: and generally containing moſt of the antienteſt arms. and the *Beauchamp* ſcocheon in lady *ROISIA*'s chapel is evidently one of the eldeſt monuments we know of, relating thereto.

*FINIS.*

## *E R R A T A.*

p. 14. *line* 14. populous. 25. *l.* 9. *de Gaunt.* 29. *l.* 25. *Milles's.* 40. CHAP. V. 48. *l.* 21. after *it.* 41. l. 2. *is* his. 43. *l.* 27. *Gloceſter.* 44. *l.* 28. fallible. 47. *l.* 31. appoſitely. 55. *l.* 20. of my book. 69. *l.* 30. of him. 63. *l.* 30. purity, innocence. *l.* 10. after ſtration. 71. *l.* 4. after mention'd.

BL

# INDEX

## Of ſome matters.


RElegion the chief end of life, p. 35. 69. 85. 87. 95. 116.
The kebla's of the Druids. 16.
The *Roman* city *Granta* deſcrib'd. 36.
The *Roman* city *Durobrivis*. 37.
The *Roman* navigation call'd *Cardyke*, trac'd. 37.
*Audry* cauſy a *Roman* road originally. 38. 129.
The *Roman* city at *York*. 39.
*Roman* ſepultures. 45.

---

The *Saxon* Mercia, where? 126. 133.
*Sidnaceſter*, a *Saxon* biſhoprick, where? 112.
S. *Pega*'s cell at *Croyland*, a college. 35.
The univerſitys of *Cambridge* and *Stamford* founded. 35. 36.
Lord *Turketyl* abbot of *Croyland* the occaſional founder. 35. 134.
*Pythagoras*'s ſchool at *Cambridge*, a curious antiquity. 37.
S. *Wilfrid*'s monaſtery at *Oundle*, where he died. 44.
S. *Tibba*'s cell at *Ryhal* now remaining. 44.
*Downham* hermitage, *Erith* hermitage and others rightly ſtated. 34. 36. 38.
The manner of old croſſes. 7. 8. 55.
*Roiſton* croſs when erected. 11. 19. 85.
A croſs was holy ground. 11.
Old manner of ſepulchers and cenotaphs. 41.
Fabric of churches. 75. 76. 77. 97. 112.
Origin of portico's in minſters. 97.
—— domes or cupola's. 97.
An altar with *John Baptiſts* portrait. 52.
Some curious heads at *Balderton* church. 112.


Account

Account of queen *Maud*'s tapiſtry at *Bayeux*. 1. 86. 90. 91.
Of antient habits male and female 73. 74. 76. 77. 111. 112.
A great conjunction of the planets, *A. D.* 1186. 98.
The figures of palmers or pilgrims. 99.
Original figures of *Henry* II. 73. 101. 71.
——— Queen *Eleanor*. 73. 101. 111. 71.
——— *Richard* I. 73. 43.
——— *Berengaria* his queen. 73. 111.
——— *Eliz. de March* queen to king *John*. 73. 111.
——— *Ralf de Bernake* and *Roiſia* his wife. 78.
The intire figure of *Stephen* earl of *Albemarl*. 106.
——— of *Henry de Newburgh*, earl of *Warwick*. 108.
*William* lord *Peircy*. 124.
*Walter de Lacy*. 132.
*Alan* earl of *Britany*. 133.
Of *Waltheof* earl of *Huntington*, &c.
*William* earl *Warren*. 135.

*Benedict Abbas*'s character. preface. 47. 67.
Character of *Henry* II. 5. 67.
—— of *Alberic de Vere* lady *ROISIA*'s father. 94.
——*Roger Hoveden*, *Matt. Paris*, *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, preface, 47. 22.
Character and aſſiſtants of *Weaver* the antiquary. 10.
——*Wingfield Bodenham* the antiquary. 71. 105. 120.
—— of the golden legend. 47. 48. 55. 61.
—— of the great *Burghley*. 113. 119.

Origin of the aſſizes. 92. 93. 54.
Court-leets and county-courts their difference. 17. 18.
Boke-land tenure, what? 19.
Grants for markets and fairs ſtated. 22. 23.
Of the antient guilds. 71.
Religious plays at the great feſtivals. 50.
Empreſs *Maud*'s charter to *Geffery Mandevil*. 113.
Origin and uſe of heraldry. 101. 102. 104. 106. 109. 118. 122. 127.
The curious *tabula Elienſis*. 120. 123.
The *torques* of the nobles. 70.
Male and female ſculls, their difference. 9. 45. 46.
*Nuſels*, what? 26.
Arms hereditary in very old times. 102. 104. 106. 114. 121. 123. 128. 130.
*Robin Hood*'s genealogy. 25. 114. 115. 124. 125. 135.

The chief. 109. 120. 129. — chevron. 122. 129.
bend. 109. 125. 129. — pale. 126. pile. *ib.*
Feſs. 109. 123. 129. — croſs. 103. 127. 129.
Saltire. 130. — eſcarbuncle. 130.
Maſcles. 133. — bordures. 133 fret. 134.

Labels. 133. flaunch. 133. maunch. 133. canton. 133, *&c.*
The croiſade mainly the origin of coat-armor. 103. 106. 108. 121. 123. 127. 128. 130. 131.

---

The ground of Mr. *P*——s quarrel with our author, *Henry* II. and *Tho. Becket*. } 5. 6. 47. 50. 55. 61. 66. 67. 80.
The inducement our author has to anſwer him. 3. 4. 84. 117. 135.
No ſyſtem in Mr. *P*——s book. 6. 12. 48. 12. 51. 53.
Falſe references in his book, p. 2. 9. 16. 18. 28.
A ſpecimen of his logic. 13. 15. 16. 17. 18. 22. 23. 25. 26. 56. 64. 67. 75. 79. 102. 103. 107. 113, *&c*
His method of anſwering. 5. 12. 15. 17. 20. 23. 40. 46. 57. 72.
Critic's. 24. 25. 48. 55. 57. 60.
Deception of his reader. 15. 33. 40. 46. 57. 63. 110.

Diſin-

Diſingenuity. 20. 21. 27. 30. 32. 33. 40. 47. 58 62. 65. 80. 101. 103. 107. 110.
Falſe aſſertions. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23. 27. 32. 56. 52. 65. 111.
His publick hermites, abſurd. 14. 26. 34. 39. 79. 107.
His hermits were *Highlanders*. 31.
Stations of ſaints and *Roman* geer. 26. 64. 65. 66. 67. 80.
Papiſts. 25. 64. 90. 96. 97, 98.
Many altars and chantrys here abſurd, 62. 71. 101. 31.
Art of doubling. 56. 57. 58. 70. 103.
His own ſaint *Rowney* and *Hypolites* horſe. 24. 25. 28. 80.
His delphic ſword 53.
His imaginary heremitagium *de Barkway*. 32. 39. 79.
Falſe quotations. 27. 32. 46.
Skill in architecture. 7. 23. 31.
Anachroniſm. 56. 59. 103. good nature. 30, 41, politeneſs. 12. 21. 22. 23. 29. 40. 46. 62. 108. taſte. 2.
Skill in divinity. 31. 53. 59, 63. 97.
Faith and charity. 50. 67. 110. 117. wit. 60.

---

Proofs of our *hypotheſis*.
From *Weaver*. 9. 10.
From ſome letters. 4.
S. *Katherin*. 63. 64.
Chronological proofs. 65. 98. 99.
Of the original entrance. 65. 83.
From king *Henry*'s figure croſſed. 100.
From the figure of queen *Eleanor*. 73. 101.
From the figures of the *French* king. 91. 92. 100.
From St. *Chriſtopher*'s image. 65. 99.
From the circle of the imagery. 88.
Proof of the whole. 11. 81. 90. 91. 117.

BL

BL

23 inches. —



27 inches.

A Stone in basso relievo found 10 foot under ground in Micklegate, in York. 1747.

# Palæographia Britannica:

OR,

# DISCOURSES

ON

# ANTIQUITIES

That relate to the Hiſtory of

# *BRITAIN.*

## NUMBER III.

## ORIUNA wife of CARAUSIUS, Emperor of *Britain.*

Addreſſed to Dr. *MEAD.*

By WILLIAM STUKELEY, M. D. Rector of *St. George's, Queens-Square*, Fellow of the College of PHYSICIANS, and of the ROYAL and ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES.

*Non eſſe curſum Studiorum ab ipſâ Theologiâ incipiendum; ſed exercendum prius animum in aliis artibus & diſciplinis.*

Maimon. more nevochim.




*LONDON:*

Printed for *C. Corbet* over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's-Church* in *Fleetſtreet*. MDCCLII.

# To the READER.

THE *enſuing diſſertation was printed, to ſatisfy the deſire of ſome very learned perſons, both at home, and abroad. The coin here treated of has been ſuſpected. In all dubious matters, 'tis but a juſt demand,* Audi alteram partem. *Tho' I never ſaw the real coin, yet I always entertain'd an opinion, that* Carauſius *had a family. For long ſince I have largely conſider'd his hiſtory; as it is ſo intereſting, in that of our own country. Therefore on ſeeing a drawing of the coin, I was induced to think, that it exhibited to us, the picture of* ORIUNA *his wife.*

*After the matter has been ſubjected to debate, among the lovers of this kind of Learning, I offer, what, I conceive, may be ſaid on the ſide of the affirmative: and this, without impeaching the judgment of others, in the caſe. Every one has a right to abound in their own ſenſe of ſuch matters.*

*But all truths whatever have uſe in them; ſome more, ſome leſs; ſome that may be important hereafter. And of*

*the*

*the preſent caſe the candid Reader will be beſt ſatisfy'd, when he hears ſomewhat on both ſides.*

*Where* Roman, *and* Britiſh *hiſtory is equally concern'd, it will be an inviting ſubject, to the curious. We have very ſcanty memorials in writing, of* Carauſius: *Is it to be wonder'd at, when* Scaliger *complains of the like as to* Diocletian; *for want of the hiſtory of theſe times?* Not. ad Euſeb. chron. *Yet the coins of* Carauſius *give us a large fund for hiſtorical ſtudy. Coins generally are uncorrupted teſtimonies of actions, and facts. The magnanimous* Romans *excelled in writing. And Providence directed them likewiſe to that moſt excellent practice of ſtamping medals; which preſerves, corrects, confirms, and inlarges their written hiſtory. It was a ſpecial direction of Providence, which kept back the glorious invention of printing, for a religious purpoſe. I infer this from the date of its appearing, in the time of the Reformation. In the mean while, the art of ſtriking medals, carving, and engraving, in a good meaſure, ſupply'd its place.*

*All great inventions, as well as great events, are more particularly under the direction of God's providence; and generally have a regard to Religion. For* that *is the rule, and order, which he has eſtabliſh'd for the government of the moral world: and to render Society comfortable, and happy;*

*happy; according to his original intention; and finally, to conduct us to future happineſs. Therefore, all our ſtudies ought to have ſome tendency, to that moſt important view.* It becomes a man, *ſays the eloquent Lactantius*, who removes himſelf from the active life, and the purſuit of riches, and honours; to ſearch into the nature of human, and divine things.

*Having gathered together the prints, drawings, and deſcriptions of all the medals of* Carauſius, *that fell under my cogniſance, as well as a good quantity of the medals themſelves; I find already there are above fifty which have never been made public. Therefore it will be a piece of juſtice to the hiſtory of our country, if thoſe who are poſſeſſed of any will pleaſe to ſend to me, deſcriptions of them; which would enable me to perfect my intended hiſtory of that Emperor of* Britain, *written with proper conciſeneſs: and due mention ſhall be made of their names. Thoſe that pleaſe to ſend the coins to me, that they may be engraved, ſhall have them again, on demand.*

*In the mean time, from all that I can ſee, what we have here advanced touching the coin before us, may ſtand good, till ſome other is diſcovered; which either overthrows, or confirms it. And however that happens, ſeveral particulars here handled will be of uſe, in the ſtudy of antiquities*

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*quities of* Britain. *And as to the whole, we are not to expect ſuch evidence as a court of judicature demands. But the Genius of antiquity makes concluſions, from ſeveral juſt probabilities laid together, well connected, and reciprocally confirming one another; which amount to the certainty required in theſe kind of ſtudies.*

Queens-Square, London,
March 19, 1752.

To

TO

# Dr. *MEAD.*

*Honoured and learned Sir,*

ZOSIMUS, a *greek* writer of the lower empire, takes notice in his hiſtory, that the *Romans*, for the merit of their virtue, public faith, and other good qualities, in a ſhort time obtain'd a great empire. He tells us, his hiſtory is wrote with a purpoſe to ſhow, how for their vices in a ſhort time they loſt it.

*Zoſimus* was a heathen: but we muſt commend his good ſenſe, who knew how uſeful, how neceſſary, morality is to government.

*Euſebius* in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory intimates his opinion, that the Roman empire, as it was rais'd on

purpoſe, by divine Providence, to favor the propagation of the Chriſtian religion: ſo it proſpered, in the times of the emperors, in proportion to their permiſſion or obſtruction thereof. And we may all ſee, in reading their hiſtory, that the *Hydra's* of cotemporary emperors commonly aroſe during the times of the perſecutions.

We may gather this corollary from the whole: That government is ordain'd by God to protect and ſecure the religion and morality of the ſubject: which, where neglected, *that* government has reaſon to fear the divine reſentment. Thus the great *Roman* empire, the laſt and greateſt, quite fell to nothing, with the general corruption of Chriſtianity.

In conſequence of reflexions of this kind, *Euſebius* remarks, that in *Diocletian*'s reign, the empire was divided into two parts, which was an event that never happened before.

By this, in my opinion, he means the time of the reign of *Carauſius*, whoſe great genius firſt prompted him to ſhow the natural ſtrength of the iſland of *Britain:* when conducted by proper policy, and under the merited protection of Providence.

The empire was not divided by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*; nor by *Carus*, *Carinus*, and *Numerianus*; nor by *Probus* when choſe by the army, *Florianus* by the ſenate, tho' both commanded ſeparately; nor by *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius*. So *Marcus Aurelius*, as ſoon as made emperor, nominated *Lucius Verus* to be *Auguſtus*; but the empire was not divided. So at other

other times were three *Auguſti*, cotemporary emperors, without diviſion. The like muſt be affirmed of *Severus*, his ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*.

But under *Carus*, *Carinus*, and *Numerian*, a hot perſecution of the Chriſtians prevailed, eſpecially about *Syria*. Then ſuffered the famous St. *George* the *Cappadocian* martyr, and St. *Babylas* biſhop of *Antioch* the great; *Eutychianus* biſhop of *Rome*, *Tharacus*, *Probus*, *Andronicus* at *Tarſus* of *Cilicia*, and many more.

All the time of *Diocletian*, the Chriſtians were oppreſſed and martyred, more or leſs. St. *Menas* in *Phrygia*, St. *Gelaſinus* in *Heliopolis* of *Syria*, *Peter* biſhop of *Alexandria*; likewiſe the famous maſſacre of the *Thebæan* legion, before the laſt and hotteſt perſecution broke out in earneſt.

So that the obſervation of *Euſebius* holds good in regard to our *Carauſius*, when he held the ſovereignty of the ocean againſt the whole *Roman* power, and made *Diocletian* and his collegue *Maximian*, glad to declare him a partner with them in the empire: tho', in effect, he was wholly disjoined from them, and poſſeſſed the iſland of *Britain* in abſolute dominion.

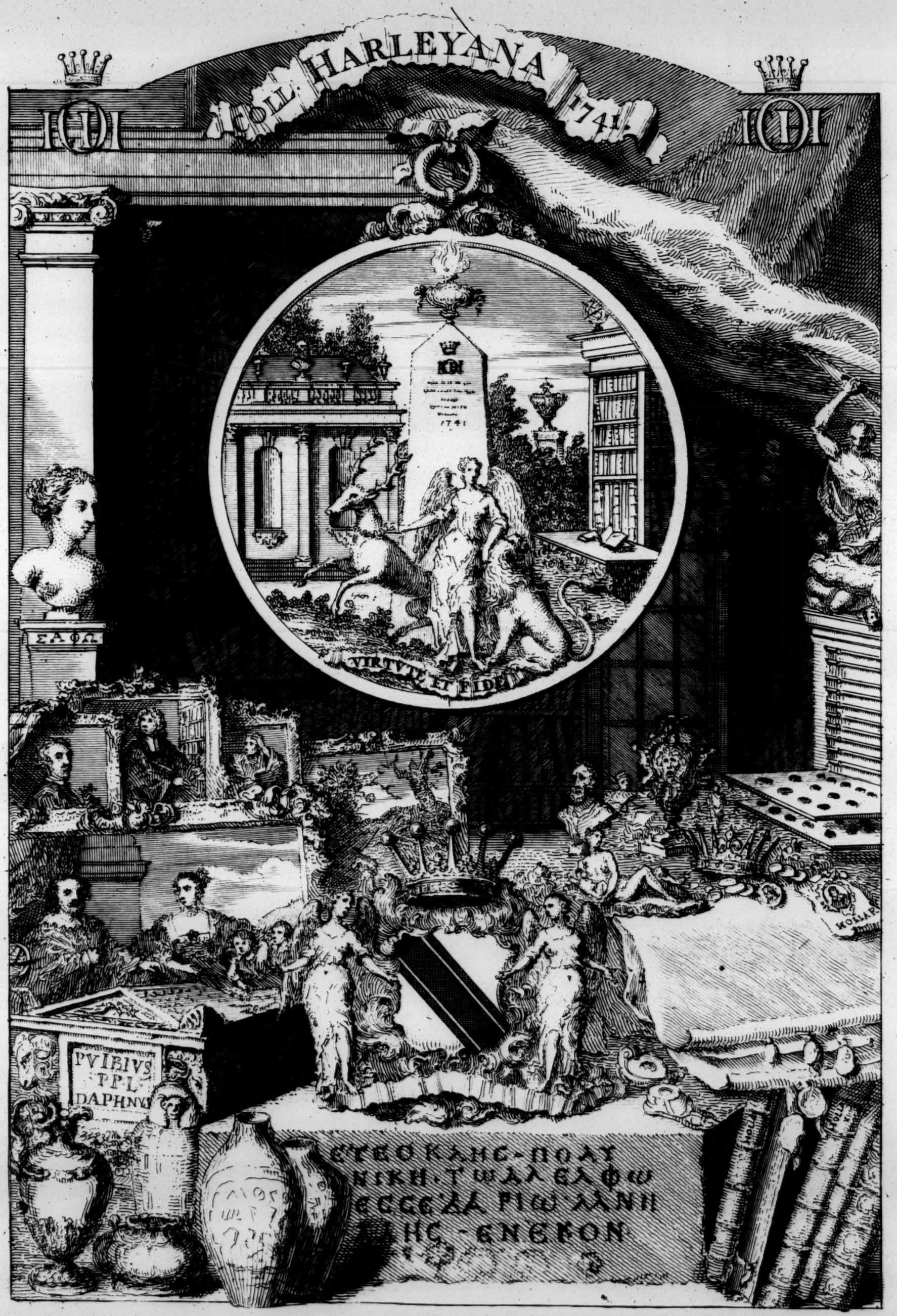
*Carauſius* was a politician, as well as hero; therefore did not ſpare ſhowing a proper reſpect to *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. To which we are to refer thoſe coins of his, COMES AUGGG. Another which I have, HILARITAS AUGGG. found at *Sandy* in *Bedfordſhire*, of an elegant dye, and having lain in a dry ſand, as perfect as when ſtruck. So CONCORDIA AVGGG. CONSERVATORI AVGGG. PAX.

PAX AUGGG. I have a very fair one of *Carauſius*, with PROVID. AUGGG. SP. *in area*, *in exergue* C. Theſe coins were ſtampt in the year of Chriſt 290 or 291. After *Maximian* had exerted all his force by ſea and land, and fought him in vain, and was oblig'd to compound matters with him. He likewiſe return'd the compliment to *Carauſius*, and ſtruck coins with PAX AUGGG. So did *Diocletian*. I have one of them, among others, given to me by Dr. *Kennedy*.

We know little of *Carauſius* from hiſtory. The writers of his time are loſt; particularly thoſe books in *Ammianus Marcellinus* which treat thereon; the latter part of the firſt book of *Zoſimus*, and beginning of the ſecond book; and others. Nor was he much taken notice of by the moderns, till we had reaſon to admire the multitude of his coins found here, the vaſt variety and elegance of them, and of their legends. Then we began to collect 'em with particular diligence; and foreigners inquired for them in *Britain*, where only they are to be met with.

'Tis not without reaſon, that the curious and moſt valuable medal of *Carauſius*, with which you, Sir, inriched the cabinet of the moſt Chriſtian King, has excited the attention of the Virtuoſo's who are ſtudious of ſuch antiquities. And with pleaſure I undertake the task you enjoin'd me, of giving my opinion on that medal, after ſome doubts had been rais'd about it. It will be a greater pleaſure to me if I can execute it, ſo as to merit your approbation. Under your umbrage, now forty years ago, I firſt catch'd the fire of curioſity in

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ΣΑΦΩ
PVBIVS
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DAPHNVS
ΕΥΓΕΟ ΚΛΗΣ ΠΟΛΥ
ΝΙΚΗ ΤΩ ΛΕΛΦΩ
ΕΣΣΕΔΑΡΙΩ ΛΛΝΗ
ΗΣ ΓΝΕΦΟΝ

theſe ſtudies; and whoſe judgment therein is as extenſive as your noble collection of medals, and all kind of antiquities: *and that* equal to your skill in the medicinal art, which all the learned world readily acknowledge to be ſupreme; to you of right they preſent the Phœbean laurel.

The coin is of ſilver; was found at *Silcheſter*, an old *Roman* city call'd *Vindonum*. The walls of it are ſtill, for the moſt part, ſtanding; and there is the plain remain of an amphitheatre made with mounds of earth, which I diſcovered in the year 1723. Many coins of this emperor are there found: and lately a gold *Allectus*, *Carauſius* his murderer and ſucceſſor, a ſcarce one; another of the ſame found at *Iſlington*, which you likewiſe preſented to the king of *France*'s cabinet. On the obverſe of the coin we here treat of, the head of that maganimous emperor laureate, IMP. CARAVSIVS PF AV. the reverſe, a female head in profile, within a garland; inſcription, ORIVNA AVG.

This coin hitherto an unic, and of ſo extraordinary a compoſition, has induced ſome to debate about it, whether it be the name of a woman (*Carauſius*'s wife) or of a deity: but at the ſame time they are quite at a loſs how better to explain it, thro' its ſingularity. I myſelf, in my own mind, have no great doubt, in thinking it to exhibit ORIVNA, the emperor's wife.

As the hiſtory of this emperor has not eſcap'd the ravage of time, we are chiefly obliged to his medals, for an account of his actions, and family concerns.

The

The learned Dr. *Genebrier* has publiſhed a ſplendid volume thereon: wherein, with great ſagacity and judgment, he has collected and put together, moſt that can well be ſaid of his hiſtory, with any tolerable degree of certainty. But this is chiefly from the medals.

*That* we are ſpeaking of, has been found ſince his time, and I propoſe to treat of it in the following method.

1. I ſhall ſhow, from what grounds we gather, that *Carauſius* was married, and likewiſe had a ſon.

2. I ſhall deliver my thoughts on the coin before us, which exhibits his wife, ORIVNA AVGuſta.

3. I ſhall remark in general, the ſtate of chriſtianity in *Britain*, about this time; which will be found not foreign to the purpoſe.

As to the firſt particular, that *Carauſius* had an empreſs; tho' this coin was not then diſcovered, yet it reflects honour to Dr. *Genebrier*, who has ſo learnedly and copiouſly proved, that *Carauſius* had a ſon, whom we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe any other than legitimate; and publickly in his coins mark'd out, as the heir of his empire. That coin, whence he principally deduces his reaſoning, was in the cabinet of the late learned *Heneage* lord *Winchelſea*, who greatly honoured me with his friendſhip. 'Tis engrav'd both by Seignior *Haym*, and *Genebrier*. *Brown Willys*, Eſq; had another of the ſame.

IMP. CARAVSIVS PF AVG. the emperor's head radiate, turned to the left, his ſhoulders mantled, reverſe. PRIN-

PRINCIPI IVVENTVT. a military young man ſtanding, looking to the right, laureate; holds in his right hand a military enſign, in his left a pike.

'Tis frequent enough, ſays the Doctor, to ſee on medals of emperors who had children, this legend of PRINCEPS, or PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. The young princes are often repreſented in the ſame manner, as on this medal of *Carauſius*; and in the ſame attitude: often on horſeback.

Let us enter into a particular diſquiſition of the medals of this ſort, which will more readily determine the meaning.

By *Princeps juventutis*, we muſt underſtand the young *Cæſars*, deſtin'd as ſucceſſors to the empire; and who generally did ſucceed to the empire; were called, and deſigned *Cæſars*, or in ſomewhat later times *moſt noble*, or *noble Cæſars*; and commonly at about twenty years of age. That moſt excellent judge of medallic learning, *Ænea Vico*, in his *Italian* diſcourſe on medals, *libro ſecundo*, p. 97. ſays expreſly, that the title of *Princeps juventutis* was the ſame thing as declaring *Cæſar*. So *Auguſtus* declared his grand-children *Caius* and *Lucius*, *Cæſars*, and *Principes juventutis*, and ſtruck medals upon it. I have one in ſilver; (common enough;) on one ſide, the head and name of *Auguſtus*; on the other, the two young princes ſtanding, each with his ſhield and pike: the legend, C. L. CÆSARES AVGVSTI F. COS DESIG PRINC. IVVENT.

In

In like manner, *Titus* and *Domitian*, ſons of *Veſpaſian*, are repreſented on their father's medals, TITVS ET DOMITIANVS CÆSARES PRINC. IVVEN. with their figures.

So *Marcus Aurelius* gave his ſon *Commodus* that title, who ſucceeded him.

*Caracalla* and *Geta*, ſons of *Severus*, the like.

*Macrinus* had a ſon, to whom the ſenate gave the title of *Princeps juventutis*; Diadumenian.

*Maximus* the ſon of *Maximin*, the like.

*Philippus* junior, ſon of *Philip*, the like.

So *Q. Herennius*, and *Hoſtilian*; *Voluſian* the ſon of *Trebonianus Gallus*; *Saloninus*, and *Valerian* junior, had the ſame titles from their father. So *Tetricus* from his father.

A medal of *Florian* has a like reverſe with this of *Carauſius*; meaning, no doubt, his ſon; tho' we know not his name.

*Carus* gave the title of *Cæſars* and *Principes juventutis* to his ſons and ſucceſſors, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*; immediately upon his own being declared emperor.

Thus from *Auguſtus* to the time of *Carauſius*, we ſee it was the cuſtom of gracing the preſumptive heir of the empire, (moſt commonly their ſon,) with this title; as in *Carauſius*'s coin. We may therefore with Dr. *Genebrier*, and with much reaſon conclude, that this young figure is *Carauſius*'s ſon, and deſtin'd to ſucceed him. Tho' the hiſtory of theſe times is loſt, to inform us, yet the medal plainly ſpeaks it. And moſt

moſt probably he declar'd his ſon *Cæſar*, as ſoon as he himſelf became emperor, as *Carus* did. So *Diocletian* nam'd *Maximian Herculius Cæſar*, within two months after he himſelf was emperor, *Pagy*. p. 235. So *Conſtantius*, and *Maximian Jovius* as ſoon as emperors, *viz.* 1 *May*, A. D. 305. nominated *Severus* and *Maximinus*, *Cæſars*.

Count *Zabarella* in his *Italian* hiſtory of *Carauſius*, acquaints us, that *Carauſius* was marry'd; and had a ſon called *Silvius*, or *Silvanus*; he tells us not, from whence he gather'd this. *Silvanus* was a name common enough among the *Romans*. One of that name a companion of St. *Paul*. *Anno Domini* 81. *M. Plautius Silvanus* was conſul with *M. Annius Verus Pollio*. *Silvanus* biſhop of *Gaza*: *Silvanus* biſhop of *Emeſa*, martyrs in *Diocletian*'s time. *Proſper* mentions *Silvanus* and *Verus*, coſs. 119. I find one of this name, mentioned by *Zoſimus*. He was tutor to *Saloninus* ſon to *Gallienus*. They were both killed by *Poſthumus* at *Colonia Agrippina*. It ſuits well enough to think, this might be father to *Carauſius*. But the writers of this time, knew little of particulars, at this diſtance from where they lived. Nor need we wonder that a *Greek* hiſtorian was not acquainted with his origin. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, A. D. 355. gives us the hiſtory of *Silvanus*, who ſet himſelf up for emperor in *Gaul*, in the time of *Conſtantius* ſon of *Conſtantine* the great. He was ſoon kill'd at *Colonia Agrippina*. He is mention'd in *Julian*'s works, in *Zonaras*, *Zoſimus*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Euſebius's chronicon*.

His coin in *Occo*, and *Goltzius*." 'Tis probable, both theſe laſt were relations of our *Carauſius*. *Treſilian* in *Cornwal* is the caſtle of *Silvanus*.

I have further to remark on this head, that the *Princips juventutis* was the captain of a band of young gentlemen of noble families, that annually play'd the *Trojan* games. We mention'd before, coins ſtruck by *Auguſtus* on his grandſons *Caius* and *Lucius*, riding in this ſolemnity. Thus *Nero*, who had this title, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in that performance, had medals ſtruck upon it; and becauſe that game was play'd on horſeback, the equeſtrian order preſented him with a buckler. Thus the coins; *Nero*'s head without a laurel, NERONI CLAUDIO DRUSO GERMANICO COS. DESIGNAT. Reverſe EQUESTER ORDO PRINCIPI IVVENTVT. upon a buckler. *Suetonius* tells us, *Quod Trojam favorabiliter & conſtantiſſimè luſit.*

I apprehend, this gives me a fair opportunity, to explain ſome other coins of *Carauſius*, of a ſingular compoſition, and which will be found to relate to the preſent argument.

In the year 1747, whilſt I liv'd at *Stamford*; and but juſt before the Duke of *Montagu* was pleaſed, without my deſire, to call me to *London* again; I received a letter from my friend Mr. *Drake* the *York* antiquary, with a drawing of a carved ſtone in *bas relief*, lately found deep under ground there, of which he deſired my opinion. I have here exhibited a print, which I cauſed to be made from it, in the frontiſpiece.

I anſwer'd Mr. *Drake*, that the *bas relief* preſented *Mithras* the *Perſian* deity, whoſe worſhip obtain'd all over the *Roman* empire; and in *Gaul* and *Britain* very much. Mr. *Drake* afterward ſent my account to be read at the Royal Society, and it was printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. But ſince then, I conſider'd that ſubject more copiouſly, in a M S. which I have by me, from whence I ſhall now take occaſion to recite ſome part, uſeful to the queſtion in hand.

We have abundant ſculptures of our *Mithras* printed, in many particulars like it: but ours exhibits one at the bottom more remarkable than any of the reſt, *viz.* the figure of a horſe, running; two miniſters like horſe-courſers attending on him. This will ſuggeſt to us a curious piece of hiſtory, unknown to *Britiſh* writers, and which relates to the matter before us.

One day in the year, the *Romans* here celebrated a grand feſtival to *Mithras*, who chiefly was worſhipped in a rocky cave. The *Perſians* called it the *Night of light*, and the *Birth-day of* Mithras. I believe it to have been originally a patriarchal feaſt, and taken from prophetic notices of the birth of the *Meſſias*, which is ultimately meant in *Mithras*: For the very word ſignifies *Mediator*, in the *Perſian* language. The original notion of *Mithras* is deriv'd from the *Meſſiah* expected by all the world from the beginning. Our Druids celebrated ſuch a night, kindling fires on all the hill-tops, and towers: and in ſome countries here, we ſtill do the ſame, on twelfth-night.

*Julian* the emperor writes in his 4th *Oration*: " *The laſt month being paſt, which is ſacred to* Saturn, " *juſt before the beginning of the new year, we cele-* " *brate the moſt magnificent ſports dedicated to* Sol in- " victus." We ought to read, *The laſt month being almoſt paſt.*

*Sol invictus* is *Mithras.* In an old kalendar about the time of *Conſtantine* the great, 'tis wrote: " *On* " *the 8th of the kalends of* January, *the birth-day of* " Invictus, 24 *courſes are perform'd in the Circus.*" This means the cuſtomary horſe-races inſtituted in honour of the Sun, or *Mithras*; *agones Solis.*

*Euſebius* in his chronicle, in the year of our Lord 275, tells us, that *Aurelian* the emperor firſt inſtituted that ſolemnity. *Primus agones Solis inſtituit.* This was A. D. 275. We read, that in *Rome*, the like feſtivity, and number of courſes was performed in the *Circus*, in honour of the reigning emperor on their birth-day. *Dio* ſpeaks of it, in regard to *Auguſtus* and *Caligula*: And ſo it was as to the reſt of the emperors. But long before *Roman* times, theſe horſe-races were celebrated to the honour of *Mithras*, by the *Perſian* monarchs, and with very great pomp. In ſcripture too we find, the idolatrous kings of *Judah* did the like, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 2. *For king* Joſiah *took away the horſes which the kings of* Judah *gave to the Sun*; *and burnt the chariots of the Sun with fire.* Theſe were uſed for celebrating the horſe-races of *Mithras*, in imitation of the heathen. From the *Perſians Aurelian* took it. *Aurelian*'s mother was prieſteſs of the Sun, or *Mithras.*

After

After his great victory over *Zenobia* at *Emeſa*, he paid his adorations in the temple of the *Sun* there. And he built another in the city, in a ſplendid form, above ground. *Vopiſcus* gives his epiſtle to his general *Ceionius*, about it. He himſelf built another of a round form at *Rome*, whoſe remains are ſtill to be ſeen. *Zoſimus* writes, after he conquered *Palmyra* he carried the image of the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, to his temple in *Rome*, together with that of *Belus*.

Upon his coins we find SOLI INVICTO, and ORIENS AVG. Inſcriptions often taken by other emperors after, and generally for the ſame reaſon, as *Aurelian*, on celebrating the like horſe-races to *Mithras*. He was made emperor A. D. 271, and died 276; about which time the cave of *Mithras* at *York* was made, where the *bas relief* was found.

Before *Aurelian*'s reign, ſome of the emperors uſed the like inſcriptions on their coins; and the *Romans* were fond enough of the ſacreds of *Mithras*: but *then* they were mad after 'em, in compliment to the emperor. There was an Ippodrom on purpoſe for theſe horſe-races, in moſt great cities of the empire; the people were ſo exceſſively delighted with 'em.

In time, the *Trojan* game, and this racing on the emperor's birth-days became blended together; and at length both theſe, the *agon capitolinus*, and others, were all ſwallowed up in the celebrity of the races to the honour of the *Sun* or *Mithras*; and the *princeps juventutis*, who perſonated *Aſcanius* in *Virgil*, was the captain in them all.

The

The *Ludus Trojanus* was inſtituted by *Æneas* in *Sicily*. It was performed yearly on horſeback by youths, whereof his ſon *Aſcanius* was preſident. It was brought into *Italy*, and reſtored with great ſplendor, when *Julius Cæſar* was dictator, as being a deſcendant from *Aſcanius*. The game was ever after annually celebrated in the *Circus Maximus*, by thoſe of noble and of equeſtrian order; and the preſident was called *princeps juventutis*, a title commonly taken by the emperor's ſons.

*Virgil* gives us an account of the inſtitution in *Æneid* V; and, as his cuſtom was, celebrates living perſons under the characters of the former perſonages in his poem. In this, he pays a compliment to *Cajus*, the young grandſon of *Auguſtus*, who was to command the *Roman* armies in the Eaſt: and now the youth in the *Trojan* games:

*Agmen habet ſecum, curſuſque inſtruxit equorum:*
*Ducat avo turmas, & ſeſe oſtendat in armis.*

Speaking of *Aſcanius*, now repreſented by prince *Cajus*, thus he deſcribes 'em:

*Omnibus in morem, tonsâ coma preſſa coronâ,*
*Cornea bina ferunt præfixa haſtilia ferro.*

The old commentators inform us, that they wore garlands, civic crowns upon their heads, or at leaſt upon their helmets; and likewiſe had two javelins of cornel-tree, borne in their hands.

Pertinent

Pertinent to which obſervation, we may diſcern in that coin which *Genebrier* exhibits of Lord *Winchelſea*'s, the head of the *princeps juventutis* is crown'd with a garland of laurel or myrtle; he likewiſe holds two ſtaves in his hands. In that conjugate coin of Sir *Richard Ellys*'s, the *princeps juventutis* on the reverſe is repreſented with a helmet on, with two javelins, and the *parma*, and means this ſon of *Carauſius*, being ſtruck on the account we are treating of. At the ſame time the ſon's effigies is join'd with his father's in the obverſe of the medal, together with the whip, importing the races of *Mithras*, to which that of the *ludus Trojanus* was now conjoin'd.

In a coin of *Nero*'s, on the reverſe two youths on horſeback, in the exergue DECVRSIO, means the *Troja ludus*.

A ſilver coin of *Philippus* the younger, reverſe PRINCIPI IVVENT. two military youths mantled, ſtanding, each a ſpear in one hand, a globe in the other.

A ſilver coin of *Herennius Etruſcus*, reverſe PRINCIPI IVVENTVT. the prince mantled, ſtanding, with two javelins.

'Tis neceſſary to remark, that *Virgil* ends his deſcription of the game by comparing it to the famous *Cretan* labyrinth; and in very many places in *England*, on the ſide of heaths, rivers, and open plains, I have ſeen labyrinths cut in the graſs, and boys running along its intricate meanders, by way of exerciſe and diverſion.

ſion. They call theſe places by the name of *Julian*'s bower, and *Troy* town. They ſpeak of it as of high antiquity, and with a particular veneration. I doubt not but this is from the celebration of the games and courſes which we are treating of; and it is my opinion, that to the memory of theſe ſports, here celebrated by the *Romans*, in a great meaſure is owing that deep-rooted notion in the minds of the old *Britons*, of their *Trojan* deſcent. I treated largely on this ſubject of the *Julian* bower, long ſince in my *Itinerarium Curioſum*, page 91.

From the time of *Aurelian*, when the emperor went *ad Gallias*, as *Vopiſcus* relates, and began to perſecute the Chriſtians, the horſe-racings began at *York*, on *Chriſtmas-day*; either on the neighbouring plain of *Knaveſmire*, where the annual horſe-races are now kept; or on that called *Campleſham-paſture*, which Dean *Gale* fancied to retain ſomewhat of the name of *Campus Martius*. It lies a little out of *Micklegate*, where the cave of *Mithras* was, and convenient for the purpoſe; as my learned friend Mr. *Drake* thinks, in his letter to me, in anſwer to my *Queries* on this ſubject.

No doubt but there was a regular *Circus* made, and the ſolemnity was exceeding grand; eſpecially when emperors were there in perſon, as often happened: and tho' *Knaveſmire* may poſſibly have its name as being a meer, or level piece of ſoft ground; yet we may be tempted to think it an oriental word; in which it means

means *the ſwift racers of Mithras*; for the *Perſians* pronounce it ſoft. *Mihr. knave* is likewiſe an oriental word for *flying*.

In *Aurelian*'s triumphal arch at *Veſontium*, *Burgundy*, deſcribed by *Chiflet*, there are ſome figures twiſted about with ſnakes, in the *Baſſo relievo* work of that triumph, like ours at *York*; whence we may reaſonably adjudge the fabric of ours at *York* to *Aurelian*'s time.

The learned *Jerom Aleander*, on his ſubject of *Mithras*, judges very rightly, that this worſhip was more vehemently countenanced by the Heathen in later times, in order to oppoſe the rapid progreſs of Chriſtianity. St. *Jerom* obſerves, they worſhipped *Adonis* in the ſtable or cave at *Bethlehem*, where our Saviour was born, for like reaſon. St. *Jerom* lived in the very place. *Julian* the emperor, becauſe he baſely renounced his faith, would not fail to advance the worſhip of *Mithras*, more intenſely, as an oppoſite to Chriſt: Therefore, as to the *Mithriaca*, or great feſtival of *Mithras*, always celebrated about the winter ſolſtice, they took care to fix it upon the very 25th of *december*, becauſe of the Chriſtian ſolemnity: and to outſhine it by imperial ſplendor and magnificence.

All this is meant by the horſe-running, at the bottom of our *Mithriac* ſculpture; and highly probable it is, that the *princeps juventutis*, *Carauſius*'s ſon, has preſided at theſe very games at *York*; for in all likelihood *Carauſius*'s chief imperial ſeat was there, the better to keep the *Picts* and *Scots* in awe, as *Conſtantius* imme-

diately after him, and *Conſtantine*, and the other emperors before and after, always there reſided, when in *Britain*. But this circumſtance of the horſe-races to *Mithras*, gives us a very agreeable ſolution of thoſe jugate coins of *Carauſius*, which create ſo much difficulty with our Antiquaries.

In the year 1724, I took a drawing of one of theſe coins lately found at *Lincoln*, and the firſt of the ſort we then knew of, in the hands of Mr. *Pownal*. He gave it to my friend, the learned Sir *Richard Ellys*. IMP CCARAUSIUS PF AVG. Two heads in buſto, the emperor's with a radiate crown, in armour: Behind, a younger head radiate; before him a whip: reverſe VIRTUS AVG. A military figure of a young man with a helmet on, looking to the left; holds a ſpear in his left hand over his left ſhoulder; in his right hand another ſpear and a *parma*: in *area* S C.

This coin was ſtruck by the *britiſh* ſenate, to the honor of the emperor, and of his ſon the heir of the empire of *Britain*; and perhaps at that time declared Cæſar, or copartner in the empire: in imitation of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, then emperors on the continent. The coin intimates withal, that it ought not to be expected that the empire of *Britain* ſhould, after *Carauſius*'s death, revert to the *Roman* emperors: but that he meant nothing leſs than perpetuating it in his own family. And very likely this might be one occaſion of *Maximian* preparing again to attack him, after ſome years of peace. That young face conjugate with the emperor's, I ſuppoſe to be his ſon. That he has on, a

radiate

radiate crown is no more to be wonder'd at, than that *Carauſius* himſelf is ſo ornamented. Thus a ſtatue of *Conſtantine the Great*, with a radiate head, was ſet upon the porphyry pillar in the middle of the *Forum* at *Conſtantinople*. *Chron. paſchale*, p. 284. *Apollo* is not the only deity with a radiate head. *Jupiter Anxur*, in the coins of *Panſa*, is thus ornamented. In the laſt mentioned coin the whip before *Carauſius*'s ſon indicates his having rode the games of *Mithras*, as *princeps juventutis*. If any one chooſes rather to ſay, that it is the head of *Apollo*, the *Sun*, or *Mithras*, who is thus dreſt, and often bears a whip; I anſwer, 'Tis upon this very account that *Apollo* is now ſo repreſented, becauſe of theſe *Mithriac* games celebrated annually on the 25th of *december*: And 'tis no unuſual thing for a chief miniſter, in any religious ceremony, to be habited like the Deity whom he ſerves; but as to *Mithras*, 'tis notorious; in all the *Mithriac* ſculptures, not only the high-prieſt, (the *Archimagus*,) killing the bull, but all the reſt of the attendant prieſts with torches, *&c.* are dreſt in the uniform of *Mithras*, in the *Phrygian* bonnet, as called, but truly the patriarchal miter; the toga, tunic, mantle, and breeches. That they are not dreſt like the *Greek* and *Roman Apollo*, tho' the ſame Deity, is owing to the different habit of Eaſt and Weſt: Therefore granting, that the young figure conjugate with *Carauſius* on this coin, with a radiate crown, and whip before him, is habited like *Apollo*; *that* does not hinder but it may be the ſon of *Carau-*

 *ſius*,

*ſius*, his *princeps juventutis*, his preſumptive heir, his copartner in the empire, the young *Aſcanius* who rode theſe *Mithriac* courſes. Even *Aſcanius* himſelf, the *Askenas* in Scripture, ſon of *Gomer*, ſon of *Japhet*, in the oriental language interpreted, is the prieſt of *Fire*, which is no other than *Mithras*. The coin was probably ſtruck in the beginning of the year, immediately after he had preſided at the *Mithriac* courſes; by order of the *Britiſh* ſenate, as the letters S C in the *area* of the coin, indicate.

In 1743 I took a drawing of another coin of like ſort, in poſſeſſion of Dr. *Pellet*; the obverſe as the laſt deſcribed, ſaving that the emperor is mantled, and his right hand is expreſſed: the reverſe, the image of peace: a feminine figure ſtanding, looking to the right; in her right hand a three-leav'd twig, in her left a *haſta*. The inſcription,

PAX AVG. in the exergue CXXI. which, I ſuppoſe, deſigns the particular mint it was ſtruck at. This coin belongs to the year 290 or 291, when he had made peace with *Diocletian*, and *Maximian*, and was in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity. It was right to ſhow to *Britain*, that it was his care to tranſmit this happineſs to them in the perſon of his ſon and ſucceſſor. This ſame coin is now in the cabinet of my friend Mr. *Sadler*.

Monſieur *Genebrier* has publiſhed two more of theſe jugate coins, without the whip; whence we may gather, that the whip is often the ſymbol of thoſe *Mithriac* courſes, and that the young head means no other,

other, than the ſon of our emperor. One of the coins has VIRTVS AVG. the other FORTUNA AVG. with their proper figures, on the reverſe. There is, Sir, another of theſe jugate coins of *Carauſius* in your elegant cabinet.

Coins of the emperors about this time, with the figure of *Apollo* on the reverſe, are not infrequent: the inſcription is commonly ORIENS AVG. and I imagine, they generally have reſpect to theſe *Mithriac* courſes, and to the *Principes juventutis*, and the ſons of the emperors. The excellent *Spanhem* thus, *Sint hæc rudimenta* AVGUSTAE SPEI *in quam ſurgunt opportune* ORIENTES *illi Aſcanii*, &c. Again in another place, PRINCIPIS IVVENTVTIS *appellationem, ſymbolum fuiſſe futuræ ſucceſſionis.* Two coins of *Valerian* have the image of the Sun on the reverſe, with his whip in his hand; the legend, ORIENS AVG. meaning the emperor and his ſon. Sometimes *Oriens* means the eaſtern part of the empire, ſometimes the ſon and heir of the empire, conjointly with the character and office of *Princeps juventutis.* Dr. *Genebrier* publiſhed one of theſe, of *Carauſius* with ORIENS AVG. *Apollo* has a whip in his left hand; holds forth his right: in the exergue of the coin, the letter C, probably ſignifying *Corinium*, our *Cirenceſter.* At this place particularly are many coins of *Carauſius* found. Mr. *John Collins* collector of the exciſe, gave me a number of them, which I added to my friend Dr. *Kennedy*'s collection; who has the greateſt quantity of coins of *Carauſius*, any where to be ſeen. The

The Doctor has engrav'd one of this emperor. On the reverſe *Apollo* ſtanding, or rather gradient, naked, except his mantle: in his left hand a globe; his right hand extended upward; at bottom, two captives. I cannot judge this figure to be ſimply *Apollo*, but ſignificative of the ſon of *Carauſius*, under the character of *Apollo*, at whoſe games he preſided. For what relation, otherwiſe, has the two captives to *Apollo?* unleſs they indicate ſome ſignal victory obtain'd, perhaps, at that ſeaſon of the year, when thoſe games were celebrated; and obtained particularly by this young hero.

The Doctor has engrav'd another of theſe coins of *Carauſius:* on the reverſe *Apollo* gradient to the right, holds forth his right hand extended upward; in his left a globe: he is naked, but mantled; inſcription, INVICTVS AVG. being the name of *Mithras*; and aſſuredly regards the *Chriſtmas-day* courſes: not without a compliment to the emperor himſelf. But certainly theſe kind of inſcriptions on coins of *Conſtantine* the great, had a chriſtian meaning; and that *Mithras* is *Meſſiah*, in its ultimate ſenſe.

The Doctor has engrav'd another coin of *Carauſius*, very rare: the head of *Apollo*. On the reverſe: PACATOR ORBIS as I underſtand the inſcription. The meaning of it, I judge to be the ſame as the preceding; the ſons head, and at the ſame time a compliment to *Apollo*, whoſe ſacreds the emperor was careful to promote.

Thus

Thus the great *Scaliger* in his notes on *Euſebius*'s chronology, p. 222. ſpeaks of a coin of *Carus* and his ſon *Numerian* with ORIENS AVGG. on the reverſe. He rightly adjudges it to regard the emperor's ſon.

*Carinus* ſon of *Carus* celebrated theſe games. Of whom the poet *Calpurnius* in his laſt eclogue, an eye-witneſs, thus:

*----Utcunque tamen conſpeximus ipſum*
*Longiùs, ac niſi me decepit viſus, in uno*
*Et Martis vultus, & Apollinis eſſe putavi.*

Long before this, the like compliment was uſed, in making all the figures of *Apollo*, with the head and reſemblance of *Auguſtus:* as that famous ſtatue of the *Belvidere* now preſerv'd. Sometimes *Auguſtus* was thought to be *Apollo*, ſometimes to be the ſon of *Apollo*. And *Virgil* means the ſame compliment to him:

*----Tuus jam regnat Apollo.*

But from all theſe conſiderations laid together, and maturely pondered, I ſee much reaſon to conclude, with Count *Zabarella*, and Dr. *Genebrier*, that *Carauſius* was marry'd, and had a ſon. It ſeems likewiſe very evident, that he was *Princeps juventutis*, and preſumptive heir of his father's empire.

II. In the ſecond place, we are to conſider this coin before us, which Dr. *Mead* gave to the king of *France*'s cabinet. The exact ſculpture of it was made in *France*, and by Monſieur *de Boze* ſent to Dr. *Mead*. It exhibits ORIVNA the wife of *Carauſius*, as I believe.

There is no objection to this coin that carries any weight, but what I once thought of, before I ever ſaw either the coin, or any drawing of it: that it was FORTVNA AVG. For if we imagine the firſt letter omitted, thro' careleſsneſs of the *Monetarius*, or ill ſtruck, or defac'd; and the upper part of the letter T to be waſted and worn out, the matter ſeems ſomewhat decided; for then ORIVNA remains: and eſpecially when we ſee the flaw in the coin, in the very place of the firſt letter. Look upon that jugate coin of *Carauſius* in *Genebrier*, with VIRTVS CARAVSI in the obverſe, on the other ſide FORTVNA AVG. as engrav'd the 7th of his IId Table, and we ſee the affair plainly: the top of the T being omitted, or effac'd.

But after all, this ſuſpicion is abſolutely blown away by reflecting, here are none of the ſymbols of Fortune; not one of them, nor any reſemblance of any. *Bánduri* gives us in print, a coin of *Carauſius*, FORTVNA AVG. Fortune ſitting, holding a *Cornucopia* in her left arm; in her right a *temo*; under her, a wheel. In the exergue R S R. Dr. *Genebrier* gives us another, with the ſame reverſe, and inſcription. But in the obverſe, the two heads jugate, with the inſcription, VIRTVS CARAVSI. the coin juſt mentioned.

Again,

Again, Dr. *Genebrier* gives us another ingrav'd coin of *Carauſius*, with the ſame type on the reverſe; the inſcription FORTVNA RAEDUX, exergue SPC.

In my collection, a coin of *Carauſius*, reverſe FORTUNA AVG, a female genius ſtanding, looking to the right; her right hand leans on a ſhort ſtaff, in her left a *cornucopia*; given to me with many more, by my worthy friend the reverend *William Harris* of *Landaff*.

But here in our coin is no image of *Fortune*, or any thing like it; no *cornucopia*, no *temo*, no wheel; but the whole quite of a different aſpect: And if we put any faith in medals, and in all the appearances of 'em, we can conclude at preſent, ours to be no other than of *Oriuna* the wife of *Carauſius*; till ſome other medal is found to contradict it.

That we have no hiſtory of this lady, is not to be wonder'd at; we have nothing but obſcure ſcraps of hiſtory relating to ſo great a prince as her husband. It does not ſeem unlikely, what *Genebrier* urges, that the *Roman* writers of that time neglected to commemorate what could reflect no honour to *Diocletian* and *Maximian*; who were oblig'd to take in *Carauſius* as partners with them in the empire. He judges, the end of the firſt and beginning of the ſecond book of *Zoſimus* to be imperfect, for this reaſon; there being a great gap of about 20 years between *Probus* and *Conſtantine the Great*; for, perhaps, ſuch part of his hiſtory has been deſtroyed, where he treated of our *Carauſius*.

Further, we know, the majority of writers about theſe times were *Greeks* of *Conſtantinople*, living at much too great a diſtance from *Britain* to be well acquainted with our affairs here. An inſtance I will give from *Zonaras*. He tells us, in *Diocletian*'s reign, that one *Craſſus*, who held the empire of *Britain* three years, was ſlain by *Aſclepiodotus*. Now by *Craſſus* he means *Carauſius*; by holding *Britain* three years, and being ſlain by *Aſclepiodotus*, he means *Allectus*; ſo imperfect were their memoirs of the *Britiſh* affairs!

The hiſtory therefore of this magnanimous prince cannot otherwiſe be made out, but from his numerous medals; and thoſe are to be interpreted by collating one with another; and with the learning that belongs to theſe kind of antiquities.

But in regard to empreſſes, we have many inſtances of their being conſign'd to theſe laſting metallic monuments, tho' wholly nameleſs in hiſtory. Several of the following were ſuggeſted to me by my friend Dr. *Stack*, who has good skill in medals.

*Marciana*, the ſiſter of *Trajan*, known only from medals, and the arch at *Ancona*.

*Salluſtia Barbia Orbiana*, wife of *Severus Alexander*, from medals only. She was taken for the wife of *Trajanus Decius*, before the medals were diſcovered.

*Paulina*, wife of *Maximinus*, known from medals only.

*Herennia Etruſcilla*, the wife of *Trajanus Decius*, firſt taken for his daughter, from medals.

*Cor-*

*Cornelia Supera*, from medals. *Triſtan* and *Vaillant* ſuppoſe her to be the wife of young *Valerian*; but *Banduri* gives her to *Trebonianus Gallus*.

*Mariniana*, the ſecond wife of the elder *Valerian*, and mother of the younger *Valerian*, from medals. His firſt wife, mother of *Gallienus*, unknown.

*Junia Donata*, from medals only; the wife of *Poſthumus*.

*Magnia Urbica*, from medals; firſt taken for the wife of *Maxentius*; by others given to *Magnentius*; by *Harduin* to *Carinus*, or *Numerianus*; but by *Genebrier* aſcribed, with great probability, to *Carus*.

I have a medal of *Julia Procla Herois*, much the ſame, tho' not the ſame die, with that in the cabinet of the king of *France*, pictur'd in Seguin; 'tis an unic. Some ſay ſhe was the wife of *Probus*; others, by the manner of the work, judge it about the time of the *Antonines*.

A lady, *cujus ortum, & ſtirpem, dotes, & res geſtas prorſus ignoro*, ſays that curious author. In the obverſe a feminine head, adorn'd in an unuſual manner. Her name in the accuſative caſe ΙΟΥΛ. ΠΡΟΚΛΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ, *Juliam Proclam Heroidem ſc. venerantur*. Reverſe, ſhe is ſitting, playing on the harp. ΕΠΙ ϹΤΡΑ. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΜΥΤΙ. *Prætore Apollonio Mytilenæorum*. Ηρωιδα means her family name, not *Heroinam*, as he interprets it. Nor is it *Apollo*'s image on the reverſe, according to him, but that of *Julia* herſelf: undoubtedly celebrated by this medal for her skill on that inſtrument. The accurate *Spanheim* gives

us an inſcription of *Clodius Aurelius Proclus Herois*, beyond diſpute one of this family, at *Thyatira*.

Some emperor's names too, we learn only from coins, having no hiſtory of them. *Galerius Antoninus*, one of the two ſons of *Antoninus Pius* and *Fauſtina*, from medals. The name of the other ſon as yet unknown.

*Nigrinianus*, from medals only; by *Triſtan* taken for the ſon of *Alexander Phryx*; but by *Genebrier* either for the nephew of *Aurelianus*, or the ſon of *Numerianus*.

*Pacatianus* likewiſe unknown, but by medals. *Vide Baudelot* II. p. 674.

*Peſcennius Niger* had a wife and children. *Herodian* and *Spartian* inform us of it. So had *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, *Probus*. See *Vopiſcus*, &c. *Carinus* had nine wives. *Maximinus Daza* had ſeveral children by more wives than one. The younger *Conſtantine* had two wives. And yet the names of all theſe are abſolutely unknown in hiſtory or medals. There is no reaſon then why our medal found at *Silcheſter*, unexceptionably genuine, ſhould not have the honor of preſerving the memory of *Carauſius*'s wife. The argument drawn on that account, from her not being recorded in hiſtory, is of not the leaſt force.

Let us conſider the type. The lady's head is tied about with a diadem, ribband, or *infula*; the knot apparent. She has a necklace of pearl about her neck; ſhe holds in her right hand a three-leaved ſprig; the whole incompaſſed with a wreath of laurel, olive, or ſome other plant tied at bottom. All this is agreeable

to

to a lady that was wife to our emperor. The manner is not common. There may be ſome particular reaſon for it which we know not. Both *infula*, necklace, and ſprig, are ſuitable ornaments to a lady of high rank and dignity. The empreſs *Helena* has a pearl necklace on, in her coins. Many, or moſt of *Carauſius*'s numerous coins of PAX have a genius holding this three-leav'd ſprig of olive. Likewiſe the genius of *Hope* commonly has it, as ſignifying the fruit approaching. And in this view it may be applied in our coin; as expectation of offspring, ſtruck upon the emperor's nuptials; or of a flouriſhing family. Or it may import CONCORDIA, as in ſome coins of *Vitellius* in *Occo*, as in *Land*'s *Select. Numiſm.* p. 68. In Dr. *Kennedy*'s plate are two coins of *Carauſius* ſomewhat imperfect, FELICITAS, or LAETITIA AVG. The genius has this ſprig in her hand. Such a reverſe on a coin of *Antoninus Pius*, Tab. 30. *Reliqua Æneæ Vici.* A coin in my poſſeſſion of *Carauſius*, found at *Brigcaſterton*, a *Roman* city by *Stamford*, on the great *Hermen-ſtreet way*, has the image of SALVS AVG. with ſuch a ſprig in her hand. In another coin of *Carauſius*, printed by *Genebrier*, a ſtanding figure, ſeeming to be *Minerva*, holds this ſprig in one hand, a *haſta* in the other, a helmet on her head, COMES AVG. In another printed by *Genebrier* the like, MARTI PACIFERO. *Mars gradivus.* In another printed by *Genebrier*, VICTORIA AVGGG. *Victory* holds the ſprig.

Hence

Hence we may gather, that nothing poſitive can be gathered from this little branch in the lady's hand, but that it is a becoming feminine attitude. We may think ſhe had ſome ſhare in the felicity of the times, and perhaps was of a martial diſpoſition, which recommended her to the emperor's favour; and that ſhe had ſignalized herſelf in battel, and obtained victory; for which reaſon her buſto is incloſed in a wreath of laurel or olive. This is not altogether ſingular. Monſieur *Baudelot*, *utilitè des voyages*, Tom. II. p. 651. gives us a coin of *Druſus*, where his head is thus incircled.

Again, if we look into *Ænea Vico*'s *Auguſtarum imagines*, p. 82. we ſee a ſilver coin of *Tiberius*, whoſe reverſe exhibits in the center, the buſto of that excellent lady *Agrippina*, wife of *Germanicus*, incompaſſed with a triple garland; the interior of which is exactly ſimilar to that of our coin. It was ſtruck by the ſenate; the *epigraphe* CLEMENTIAE.

My moſt honoured Lord and Patron, the great *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, collected his immenſe treaſure of antique coins, marbles, &c. between the time of king *Charles* I. the Earl of *Arundel*, and the late king of *France*. The uſe of the coins he has communicated to the public, in cauſing them to be ingraven by Signior *Haym*, in that moſt ſplendid volume, which wants nothing but proper explications and table, to make it the nobleſt extant.

I have ſeen among his gold coins ſome heads of *Brutus* inclos'd in garlands; they are printed in his twelfth plate.

Both

Both the garland and the ſprig, in our coin, may regard victory, triumph. Myrtle and olive means victory eaſily obtain'd; laurel, *that* got by labour, bloodſhed, and conqueſt.

The garland in general means all that is joyful, proſperous, happy. A ſilver coin of *Philippus* has FELICITAS IMP. in a laurel garland. *Ob cives ſervatos*, often thus incloſed.

But what is moſt extraordinary in our coin of ORIVNA is the form of a right hand behind her, a ſingularity not to be obſerved elſewhere; and which appears to be not a little unaccountable. As I never ſaw the coin, I can only judge by the print, which I am ſatisfied, is done with the greateſt accuracy. It ſeems to hold, not a garland, but a band or *infula*; a ribband, with the two ends tied together, like that upon the lady's head. All I can do in this caſe is to give my opinion concerning it. The circle of laurel, or olive, which incompaſſes the buſto, indicates a martial diſpoſition. This figure then behind her, I take to be the upper part of a military enſign, ſuppoſed to be ſtanding behind her.

Look upon the ſculptures of the *Roman* military ſtandards in the *columna Trajana*, and the like, you often find at the head or ſummit, a right hand within a garland; ſometimes a right hand without a garland; and often a garland without the hand.

I ſuppoſe then, this right hand and *infula* behind ORIVNA to be the ſummit or head of a military banner, of a company properly belonging to her; whereof ſhe was

the

the captain. As the preſent *Czarina* is captain of a regiment of her guards: And perhaps the *infula* on her head is the diſtinguiſhing mark or cognizance of it; and we may in *Engliſh* call it, the regiment of the *infula*, or ribband. Thus in 1268, *Alphonſo* king of *Spain* created an order of knights *de la banda*, from a diſtinction they wore.

This lady is ſaid by Count *Zabarella* to be of *Gauliſh* extraction. That language is ſtill preſerv'd in our *Welſh*; and her name ORIVNA I take to be ſtill preſerv'd in a word of that language, when pronounc'd in the guttural way, which is the genius thereof. *Gorwyn*, in *Latin*, *ſubalbicans*; a modeſt name for a female beauty, and equivalent to what we now call *Lucia*, *Lucilia*.

III. As I always thought theſe ſtudies no further worth cultivating, than where they are conducive to ſome point that regards religious hiſtory; which in truth leads to the principal purpoſe of life: I ſhall in the third place, very conciſely inquire into the ſtate of chriſtianity in *Britain* about this time, which is not foreign to our purpoſe; reflecting on what was before obſerved; that the *Romans* in *Britain* were addicted to the ceremonies of *Mithras*, and that we have ſeen ſufficient intimations of it in the coins of *Carauſius*. Theſe ceremonies obtained the more, becauſe of their agreement with chriſtianity: For thoſe that would not become altogether Chriſtians, had a great regard for the religion of

of *Mithras*, becauſe it was ſome approach toward it, and promiſed the reward of a happy, future life. Which was the original doctrine of the patriarchal religion; of which that of *Mithras* was a depraved copy: and which doctrine was now republiſh'd with utmoſt effect, by chriſtianity. Of this I have ſpoken largely enough in my manuſcript about *Mithras*.

Beſide the *baſſo relievo* found at *York*, I ſaw at *Cheſter*, when I travell'd with Mr. *Roger Gale*, in the year 1725, an intire ſtatue of *Mithras*, found there. It was ſtanding croſs-leg'd, as uſual; with a torch in his hands. It was in the poſſeſſion of the reverend Mr. *Preſcot*: whoſe father was a careful collector and preſerver of ſuch antiquities.

The ſame year Mr. *Gale* and I travelled the whole length of the *Roman* wall in *Northumberland*. At *Haltwiſel* I got an old altar, DEO SOLI INVICTO, which I left in my garden at *Stamford*.

On the 17th of *November*, 1725, whilſt I was ſecretary to the *Antiquarian Society*, I brought a drawing ſent to me, of a double-headed eagle, as they called it, in braſs gilt. Some fancied it to be the head of a military ſtandard, or enſign; but I found it to be the handle of a ſacrificing knife at the *Mithriac* rites. Such a one in the ſculptures of *La Turre*, cap. II. It was found near *Lollius Urbicus*'s wall in *Scotland*. I judge they are as much miſtaken in calling it a double-headed eagle, but I believe it intended for two doves' heads; ſuch being one kind of the ancient patriarchal ſacrifices, appropriate to the ſummer

ſolſtice ſolemnity: as the bull which *Mithras* is killing, to the vernal equinox. In laying the two doves on the altar, they were generally plac'd back to back. The firſt ſacrificing knife in *Montfaucon*'s table of inſtruments of ſacrifice, is plainly a dove's head on the handle.

Thus we find in very diſtant parts of *Great-Britain*, *Cheſter*, *York*, *Haltwiſel*, *Linlithgow*, remains of the worſhip of *Mithras*, and no doubt but there are many more, unknown. And the grand ſolemnity of horſe-racing on the 25th of *December*, perform'd to the honour of this deity, in *Carauſius*'s time, is a very cogent argument in favour of this day's being the true anniverſary of our Saviour's nativity.

In a caſe ſo intereſting, it will be a ſeaſonable opportunity to take a ſhort view of that matter; ſeeming to ariſe in our preſent debate.

In 1743 I addreſs'd a paper to the preſent biſhop of *Chicheſter*, tending to prove, that St. *Paul* in perſon preach'd the Goſpel at *Chicheſter*, the *Roman* city. I have ſince learned from a curious manuſcript, which I have been inſtrumental in reſcuing from obſcurity, that the name of this city is *Regnum*. That MS is *Richard* of *Cirenceſter* monk of *Weſtminſter*, wrote 400 years ago, and altogether unknown, hitherto, to the learned world. He gives us an admirable account of *Roman-Britain*, with a very curious map, and excellent Itinerary, more copious than that of *Antoninus*, and extending over *Scotland* as far as *Inverneſs*; the *Romans* once having ſubdued the country thither. Hereby the names of above 100 *Roman* ſtations in *Britain*,

*tain*, are retriev'd. I have induced my friend, the poſſeſſor of this invaluable MS. to publiſh it.

In that diſcourſe to the biſhop of *Chicheſter*, I ſhow from good arguments, that St. *Paul* was at *Chicheſter* about the 63d year of *Chriſt*, the 9th year of *Nero*. He had been then releaſed out of priſon, about three years before; and his hiſtorian St. *Luke* had left *Rome*, and was gone into *Aſia*. St. *Paul* then travelled weſtward into *Spain* and *Britain*.

'Tis a diſquiſition noble and uſeful, to ſettle the annals of the great St. *Paul*'s life, and more particularly that part of it which relates to *Britain*. The writers of his hiſtory are very diſcordant, and generally have little evidence of particulars, as to chronology. In regard to this point we are upon, it depends much upon the time of St. *Paul*'s coming to *Rome*: and *that* is commonly put too late, by ſome; too early by others: by both, without any reaſonable proof.

In order to derive a proper light in the caſe, we are to examine, when *Feſtus* became governor of *Judea*, before whom St. *Paul* was arraigned, and from thence ſent to *Rome*. He ſucceeded *Felix*, *who trembled at* Paul's *preaching*. *Felix* was recalled for male-adminiſtration, and would have been condemn'd by *Nero*, but for the intereſt of his brother *Pallas*; which had been declining all *Nero*'s time; and ceaſed with *Aprippina*'s life, his patroneſs.

We have a certain character, a celeſtial one, to point out the time of her death; a ſolar eclipſe on *Monday* the laſt day of *April*, between ſeven and eight

 o'clock,

o'clock of *Anno Domini* 59. It was a total one, ſo that the ſtars were ſeen. This happen'd, whilſt they were performing a publick ſacrifice by order of the Senate, for *Agrippina*'s death. 'Tis mention'd by *Pliny*, *Xiphiline*, *Tacitus*, *Euſebius*.

*Felix* muſt therefore be at *Rome*, and *Feſtus* in *Judea*, at leaſt in the year 58. So *Helvicus* puts it in his chronology. So the learned *Adrichomius* in his chronology; Dr. *Cave*, *Whiſton*, and others. And no doubt but in that year St. *Paul* arrived in *Rome*, where he was in his own hired houſe two whole years, with a ſoldier that kept him. Some ancient kalendars celebrate the memorial of the day of his arrival there, on the 6th of *July*. St. *Jerom* in *Euſebius*'s chronology, puts it A. D. 57. He was releaſed A. D. 60.

In 57, *Pomponia Græcina* is mention'd at *Rome*, as a chriſtian lady, wife to *A. Plautius*, who triumph'd over the *Britons*.

The learned have no more been *aſſured* of the year of St. *Paul*'s releaſement, than of the *occaſion*, for which he was releaſed: and this chiefly, becauſe they have not found out the *proper data* to reaſon from.

" It would be in vain, ſays the learned *Tillemont*, " to inquire, how this happened; ſince neither him- " ſelf nor any of the ancients, have given any ac- " count of it. Nor muſt we ask what he did after " this. But our buſineſs is to give a reaſonable an- " ſwer to both queſtions."

The accurate *Pagy* taught us, to know the great uſe to be made of the ſolemn and periodical feſtivities of

of the *Romans*; ſuch as the *Agones*, the *Quinquennalia*, the *Decennalia*, *Quindecennalia*, &c.

In this year 60, he ſhews us, that *Nero* made himſelf conſul the 4th time, on purpoſe for celebrating the *Decennalia* of his *Cæſarean* empire.

Beſide this, *Nero* inſtituted this very year, in imitation of the *Greek Olympics*, the *Agon*, called *Neronia*, which was continued afterwards. They conſiſted of three parts; muſic, exerciſes of activity *gymnica*, and horſe-races: recurring every fourth year. On theſe feſtivities, which were celebrated with the higheſt public pomp imaginable, it was uſual to build or dedicate temples, and public edifices: cities and towns were then founded, ſons of emperors created *Cæſars*, *Principes juventutis*; ſons adopted; public edicts were promulgated, regarding religious rites, and other ſolemnities: then were panegyrics pronounced, and other pieces of wit, and learning: then gifts, remiſſion of tribute, congiaries, ſhows, races, muſic, horſe-races, plays, gladiators, donatives to the army, and entertainments were held, deſcriptions of countries made, kingdoms reduced into provinces, authors rehearſed and publiſh'd their works: Solemn vows of the people conceiv'd for the emperor's proſperity, and that of his family; ſecurity, and proſperity to the empire, valour to the ſoldiery, loyalty to the ſenate, peace to the world, and victory over enemies, till the next return of the feſtival; and at the end, the vows were paid, and made afreſh for the next return. Theſe were called, *Vota Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*; as often

often are ſeen on coins. They were made at the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

*Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, inform us, that *Nero* now began to build his baths call'd *Neroniana*; but afterward called *Alexandrina*, out of hatred to him. He built likewiſe a *Gymnaſium*; the old town of *Puteoli* was made a colony; and *Euſebius* in his chronology tells us, *Nero* himſelf was now victor upon the harp. This year a comet appear'd.

In this year 60, we can have no doubt, but whilſt the whole city was in higheſt joy, both on account of the *Decennalia*, and of the new *Agon*, the recalling of baniſh'd perſons, and the ſetting free of priſoners, was one part of, and a conſequence of the public mirth. And this gives us a rational account of the freedom St. *Paul* now obtain'd, and fixes the year. It was in the month of *July*. St. *Luke* writes, he ſtaid in *Rome* two whole years. We muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, during this year there could be no buſineſs for St. *Paul* at *Rome*; ſuch a dreadful ſcene of immorality, the innumerable hecatombs of ſacrifices, the unbridled liberty of all kinds of ſports, luxury, imperial folly, and vanity, muſt be as diſagreeable to him, as it was out of his power to ſtem it. Therefore he mov'd elſewhere, where his labours might have more weight and ſucceſs.

St. *Paul* had now five years; wherein he executed his purpoſe of going to *Spain*: the fruit of which in part is conſign'd to that inſcription found in *Portugal*, mention'd in *Scaliger* and *Gruter*.

Further

Further St. *Paul* went to *Britain*, and preached there in *Hampſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, and the adjacent parts, of which I can give very good arguments; not neceſſary here, having ſaid as much as is to our preſent purpoſe. But by the ſame *medium* as ſhow'd us the true time, and reaſon of the Apoſtle's liberty reſtor'd at *Rome*, we may deduce the true time, and reaſon of the perſecution *Nero* rais'd againſt the Chriſtians; about which writers are at a like uncertainty; giving no proper reaſon for it.

In *Anno Domini* 64, *Nero* celebrated his ſecond *Agon*. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of the emperor again obtaining the prize of muſick there. A comet again appear'd. Then he dedicated the famous building which he had now finiſhed, (his baths,) and commenc'd the building his ſtupendous golden palace. He crowned *Tiridates*, enlarg'd the city of *Rome*, the kingdom of *Pontus*, and the *Cottian Alps*, *Roman* provinces. And whilſt all the world at *Rome* was buſy in their heathen ſacrifices, and religious ceremonies, the edict was publiſhed for the perſecution of the Chriſtians, who refuſed to be preſent at ſuch ſolemnities.

In the beginning of *Zoſimus*'s 2d book we may ſee, how high a notion the *Romans* had, of the proſperity of the empire depending, in a great meaſure, on the people, and princes rightly, and duly performing theſe kind of feſtivals. The truth is, they are originally deduc'd from the *Moſaic* inſtitutions; and thoſe in conformity to the ancient patriarchal ſolemn

and

and public ſacrifices. Thus we read in *Exodus*, V. 3. when *Moſes* petitioned *Pharaoh* leave for his people to go three days journey into the wilderneſs to ſacrifice; he lays before that monarch the danger they were in; that GOD would puniſh them for neglect; he would fall upon them with peſtilence, or war.

*Tacitus* tells us expreſly, in the month of *July* the firſt perſecution began, at *Nero*'s ſecond *Agon*.

It laſted about two years; till *Nero* went into *Achaia*. In 66, St. *Paul* return'd to *Rome* from *Britain*: and happening to convert ſome of *Nero*'s family, in 68 he was martyred: not ſooner, becauſe in 67 *Nero* was in *Greece*, and did not return from thence till the month of *March* that year 68.

I muſt obſerve another inſtance of the uſe to be made of theſe feſtivals. In the *Julian* year 38, eight years before the vulgar Chriſtian Æra, *Auguſtus*, (as *Dio* informs us,) receiv'd from the ſenate, the fifth time, a ten years government of the *Roman* empire. This year, as high-preſt, he reform'd the *Julian* kalendar, call'd the month *Sextilis* by his own name *Auguſtus*: he made the ſecond *cenſus* of the citizens of *Rome*, made a *luſtrum* of his own authority: but more particularly then came out his famous edict for a *cenſus* of the whole *Roman* empire, mentioned by St. *Luke*; with which our Saviour's birth is connected: and for which purpoſe it ſeems to have been directed by Providence.

And this year *Herod the Great* king of *Judea*, having finiſhed the temple of *Jeruſalem*, dedicated it with extraordinary magnificence, on the anniverſary

day

day whereon he received his crown from *Auguſtus*; and no doubt but he choſe this year in compliment to *Auguſtus*.

But to return to our thoughts about Chriſtianity firſt planted in *Britain*. *Britain* being an iſland, Chriſtianity gained ground and flouriſhed, as ſomewhat out of the way of the perſecutions, the idolatry, and turmoils of the continent. The Druid religion, here in greateſt ſplendor, being really patriarchal, was too much like Chriſtianity to be a hindrance to it, but rather the contrary. As for the laſt and fierceſt perſecution, in the times relating to our hiſtory, under *Diocletian* and *Maximian*; they never had a ſettled power in *Britain*.

*Carauſius* was not a Chriſtian, and celebrated the *Chriſtmas* horſe-races, which had prevailed ever ſince the time of *Aurelian*. And when they appointed theſe horſe-races on the 25th of *December*, there can be no diſpute but it was done, purpoſely out of deſpite to Chriſtianity; and they were practiſed at *York* with great pomp: at leaſt till the time of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, who ſucceeded *Carauſius* there, and was a great favorer of the Chriſtians.

Thus writes a moſt ancient author in the church, commonly thought to be St. *Chryſoſtom*. " This, *ſays* " *he*, you call the birthday of *Invictus*. Who is the " *Invictus* but our Lord? You call it the birthday of " the *Sun*. He is the true *Sun of righteouſneſs ariſing* " *with healing on his wings*.

And hither regards the coins of a boy ſitting on a goat, IOVI CRESCENTI. ſo frequent in coins about this time; Chriſtianity and Heatheniſm mixed: made perhaps by chriſtian *monetarii*, not without a view to Chriſtianity, ſecretly.

Various have been the opinions, even between thoſe that would run counter to the common voice, and ancient appointment of *Chriſtmas* day; and who aſſign other days for the great birth. Tho' the matter is not of any eſſential conſequence, yet after ſo much pains has been taken to perplex the queſtion, and ſeeing our ſubject has led us to it; I think it proper, with great brevity, to ſhow, on how good a foundation this opinion of the weſtern church ſtands; and which is now confirm'd by the ſculpture from *York*; and by what we ſaid of *Carauſius*'s ſon.

When we conſider the uncertain and unquiet ſtate of the eaſtern church, upon the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the *Jewiſh* Polity, we ought to ſuppoſe, that the truth in this queſtion is chiefly to be had from the practice in the weſtern church, and from the records in the imperial city of *Rome*. Now in *Juſtin Martyr*'s time, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, which was but about 140 years after Chriſt, in the archives of the empire, the original tax-books of *Judea* were extant; which were taken in *Auguſtus*'s time, and which were to be ſeen by any body that pleaſed.

Therein *Joſeph*'s name, and that of his wife *Mary*, the day of the month when he was taxed at *Bethlehem*, with the houſe and lineage of *David*, were expreſly

expreſly ſet down. This is an authentic record, which cannot poſſibly be evaded or controverted. And to theſe, in his apology to the emperor, the martyr publickly appeals; to the regiſter-books made by *Quirinus* governor of *Judea*; that Chriſt was then and there born. For, no doubt, but his name *Jeſus* was ſet down as their ſon.

*Tertullian*, who lived a little after, c. 7. *contra Marcion*, ſpeaks of the ſame evidences of our Saviour's nativity. St. *Chryſoſtom* argues ſtrongly and juſtly from this topic, that it was a notoriety: That the fact was well known in the earlieſt days of chriſtianity: "That "the feſtival of the 25th of *December* was ever ob- "ſerved in the church, from the beginning. There "was no doubt or variation about it in the weſtern "world, from *Thrace* to *Gades*," ſays he.

St. *Auguſtin*, in more places than one, writes the ſame thing; and that it was ſo handed down to us, from our *majores*; by which expreſſion he always means the Apoſtles time. *Evodius*, the moſt ancient biſhop of *Antioch*, declares the ſame. *Ambroſius*, *Prudentius*, St. *Gregory* biſhop of *Nyſſa*, and others.

Tho' I could very much inlarge upon this debate, and put it beyond any reaſonable doubt, from many concurrent arguments; yet I cannot omit this fair occaſion of giving a plain demonſtration of the matter. A reader who loves ſacred antiquities, will be pleaſed with it. 'Tis really a demonſtration, which the excellent *Scaliger* furniſhes us with; deduced from the courſes of the prieſts, miniſtring in the temple, at di-

vine ſervice; tho' he was ſo unfortunate, as not to hit upon the truth himſelf: the reaſon whereof will appear by and by.

St. *Luke* informs us, *Zacharias*, father of *John Baptiſt*, was of the courſe of *Abiah*, which is the eighth. The angel appeared to him whilſt offering incenſe, and acquainted him with the news, that his wife ſhould be the mother of *John Baptiſt*. If we can find out the week when this happen'd, *that* of our Saviour's birth follows, of conſequence, without difficulty.

The nature of this inveſtigation is thus, in a very conciſe way; for what I offer here is only the ſubſtance of what I have elſewhere fully and largely diſcuſſed.

The whole body of the ſons of *Aaron* were by king *David* divided into twenty four claſſes. Thoſe ſerved each their week, in the buſineſs of the temple, in the order they were at firſt drawn by lot, by the king himſelf. We have an account of this matter, 1 *Chron.* XXIII. 27. Of theſe, *Joiarib* was the firſt, *Jedaiah* the ſecond, and ſo of the reſt: *Abiah* the eighth. Each courſe began their duty on *Sabbath*-day morning, and went out the next *Sabbath*-day morning. Theſe courſes were obſerved with the utmoſt exactneſs, from the firſt inſtitution. No one invaded that of another, under capital puniſhment; and they were never intermitted upon any occaſion whatever, when it was poſſible to help it. Nevertheleſs, three times in the year, all the intire body of the prieſthood miniſtred together; on the great feſtivals of the Paſſover, Pentecoſt,

and

and Tabernacles: when the whole *Jewiſh* nation was congregated.

Each of theſe courſes was called εφημερία, as in St. *Luke* I. 8. *And it came to paſs, that whilſt Zachariah executed the prieſt's office before God, in the order of his courſe.*

About 400 years before Chriſt, the Spirit of God had deſerted the people of the *Jews*; the gift of prophecy was ſeal'd up in *Malachi*, with a declaration of the coming of *John Baptiſt*. God gave them up for their wickedneſs and diſobedience.

About 160 years before Chriſt, they were ſo alienated from God's law, that very many of them went over to Heatheniſm. Whereupon He ſold them into the hands of *Antiochus Epiphánes* king of *Syria*, one of the kingdoms that aroſe upon the death of *Alexander the Great*. He executed the divine vengeance upon them, in a fearful manner; burnt and plundered the city of *Jeruſalem*, deſtroyed infinite numbers of the inhabitants, pulled down the walls, robbed the temple, carried off all the golden utenſils and treaſures, profaned it in ſetting up idols there, upon the very altar; ſacrificed ſwine, forced the people to become Heathens, burnt their Bibles, hinder'd them from circumciſing their children; in ſhort, his intent was utterly to extirpate their name and religion.

But *that* was beyond God's purpoſe. He was ſuffer'd to go to the extent of his commiſſion, and no further. The ſervice of the Temple was aboliſhed for three years; and then *Judas Maccabeus* was raiſed up

to

to oppoſe him. This man, with moſt inconſiderable numbers, beat the *Syrian* monarchs powerful armies many times, and abſolutely freed the *jewiſh* people from his yoke; to ſhew that it was God's doing.

*Judas* then purged the Temple from pollution, deſtroyed the images and altars of idolatry, built a new one, repair'd the place, made new utenſils for the ſervice, as before, and reſtor'd the worſhip.

The firſt book of *Maccabees* gives an account of this extraordinary event. In chap. IV. ver. 52. we learn, that on the 25th day of the ninth month, which is called *Caſleu*, in the 148th year of the *Greeks*, or *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, which is the year of the *Julian* period 4549, they reconſecrated the altar with greateſt feſtivity, and kept the dedication feaſt thereof for eight days together; and ordered that day to be celebrated for ever after, in memorial of this wonderful deliverance. This is the famous feaſt of *Encænia*, kept by the *Jews* to this day, and mention'd in the Goſpel *John* X. 22. when our Saviour honour'd it with his preſence, as well in commemoration of ſo great a benefit to his nation, as on a much higher account, becauſe it was his own birth-day, as I can ſufficiently prove.

This *Encænia* was in effect a conſecration *de novo*, as much as when king *Solomon* kept a like feaſt on the conſecration and dedication of his temple; or when *Zorobabel* did the like. So that in appointing again the orders or weekly courſes of the prieſts, who were to miniſter in the temple, *Judas* obſerved the firſt

method

method and eſtabliſhment; as they were ſet in their firſt inſtitution, under king *David*, by lot. So that this firſt week of the *Encænia*, the firſt courſe, or that of *Joiarib* waited, in the ſacred ſervice; and the reſt in their order.

Hence then, provided there was no interruption in theſe courſes hereafter, we have a moſt ſure *baſis* to calculate from; and to find out that week of the eighth courſe of *Abiah*, mentioned by St. *Luke*; wherein the Angel appeared to *Zacharias*. 'Tis certain, that there was no interruption of theſe weekly courſes, from this new dedication, to the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*. Moſt of the prieſts lived in *Jeruſalem*, the reſt not far off. And 'tis notorious to the learned, how zealous this people were, ever after, for the exact and regular ſervice of the Temple; nor durſt they ever mingle thoſe orders, nor one officiate in the room of the other.

Theſe particularities are fully proved in *Scaliger*'s diſcourſe on this affair, p. 54. *in fragmenta notæ* in the end of the learned work *De emendatione temporum*. He has added ſome material proofs in *Canon. Iſagog.* III. p. 297. at the end of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*. So that there could be no interruption of courſes even imagined, but in ſieges. Now in this *ſeries* of years, *Jeruſalem* was four times beſieged; in two of thoſe times it was taken. It was beſieged by *Antiochus Eupator*, by *Antiochus Sidetes*; it was taken by *Pompey* and by *Soſius*, with *Herod*. In theſe four caſes *Joſephus* ſhows, that the daily and weekly miniſtration of the Temple never

never ceaſed till the 17th day of *Tamuz*, when it was taken by *Titus*. *Joſephus* was a prieſt himſelf of the order of *Joiarib*.

The *Encænia* of *Judas Maccabeus* was celebrated on the 25th of the month *Chiſleu*, and that even to this day; called Φως, the *light*, the *day of lights*, as *Joſephus* tells us. They now have commonly a great branch, with ſeven lights, hung up in the chief room, in imitation of the golden candleſtick of the Temple. 'Tis kept with very great feſtivity for eight days together. In the ſecond of *Maccabees* 'tis called Σκηνοπηγία εν Κασλευ, *the feaſt of booths*, or *tabernacles*, in *Chaſleu* month: For tho' they could not make booths without doors, as in the feaſt of Tabernacles properly, becauſe this happens in winter, as the other in ſummer, when they remained in them day and night; yet now they carried boughs of ever-greens in their hands, and adorned their houſes, temple, and ſynagogues with them; juſt as we do now in our houſes and churches on *Chriſtmas* day. And it was really the parent of our *Chriſtmas* day, if we may ſo ſpeak.

By proper calculation then it appears, that the courſe of the miniſtration of *Joiarib*, which governs the reſt, happen'd twice in the 4708th year of the *Julian* period: The one was *Saturday*, *February* 12, in the proleptic *Julian* kalendar; the other was *Saturday*, *July* 31: So that the courſe of *Abiah* began *September* 18. In that week it was, that *Zacharias* miniſtred in the temple, being the time of the autumnal Equinox; and moſt probably on the day of the great

*Kephurim*

*Kephurim* faſt, or of univerſal atonement, among the *Jews*. There is ſome reaſon, and authority to look upon the day of *Kephurim*, as that of our firſt parents' fatal tranſgreſſion. And this very day, being *Thurſday* the 23d of *September*, happen'd too, to be the birth-day of *Auguſtus*, the *Varronian* year of the city 748. Then it was, that the Angel appear'd to *Zacharias*; (this may properly be reckon'd the beginning of the Goſpel.) The week after, his wife *Elizabeth* conceiv'd, from whence ſhe kept herſelf recluſe five months. In her ſixth month was the Annunciation to the bleſſed Virgin, the 25th of *March* in the year of the *Julian* period 4709; whence our Saviour's birth follows the 25th of *December*, and the 25th of the *Jewiſh* month *Chiſleu*, the *Encænia*. And to this all other characters chronological and hiſtorical, truly concur, and to no other. As I have very fully proved, in a work on that ſubject; and remov'd all the objections.

The excellent *Scaliger*, who furniſhed us with this *medium* of proof, unluckily miſs'd the mark, by extending this hieratic cycle, three or four years too far; whereby ſome infallible characters are contradicted. But I ſhall enlarge no more on the matter here, but to make this remark, which has not yet been attended to. The prophet *Iſaiah* notoriouſly points out this very circumſtance; that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be born at the time of the *Encænia* feſtival.

LV. 13. *Inſtead of the thorn, ſhall come up the fir-tree: Inſtead of the brier, ſhall come up the myrtle-tree.*

Thus, with his inimitable ſublimity, LX. *Ariſe, ſhine, for thy light is come*, &c. *The glory of* Lebanon *ſhall come unto thee; the fir-tree, the pine-tree, and the box together; to beautify the place of my ſanctuary: and I will make the place of my feet glorious.*

XLI. 19. *The cedar, ſhittah, myrtle, olive, fir, pine, box.* On the like occaſion.

*Virgil* in his IVth Eclogue has the ſame ſentiment; deſcribing this very time, from the *Sibylline* verſes.

*At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuſcula cultu*
*Errantes hederas paſſim, cum baccare tellus,*
*Miſtaque ridenti colocaſia fundet acantho.*

All point out the winter-time, the flouriſhing of ever-greens; for the ſacred birth.

Indeed in its ultimate purpoſe, very much of what we have ſaid on the coins of ORIENS, of SOL, INVICTVS, MITHRAS, is hither to be refer'd. The interior ideas annex'd to 'em, regard the characters of the expected *Meſſias*. As alſo thoſe coins of ORIENS with young *Jupiter* ſitting on a goat. As alſo the antient mythology of *Jupiter* being ſuckled by a goat: whereof many ſculptures. As alſo that cognizance of *Auguſtus*, which puzzles the antient writers, as well as modern; the capricorn on his ſeals, coins, ſculptures. He was complimented as the very perſon, the expected *Meſſias*. All theſe matters prove not a little, the truth we have been contending for, the 25th of *December*: that *Meſſias* was to be born at the

the winter-ſolſtice, when the ſun enters capricorn, when the goat was the uſual ſacrifice. So *Semiramis* in *Diodorus*, is ſaid to have been nouriſh'd by pigeons: as being born at the ſummer-ſolſtice: Theſe animals being at that time of the year, the accuſtomed ſacrifice. This matter may be very much enlarged upon, and confirmed by a conſideration of the *Saturnalia* feſtival, the *Feſtum Iſiacum* and others of old, celebrated on the day of the winter-ſolſtice, from the earlieſt ages of the world: the Druid Miſletoe feſtival the like, in our own iſland. All from antient prophetic notices, that the *Meſſiah* was then to be born.

I have treated the ſubject very largely in a diſcourſe on the myſteries of the antients. Much of which I read at our celebrating the *Feſtum Iſiacum* in the *Egyptian* Society held in *London*, in the years 1741, 42, 43, by the Dukes of *Montagu*, *Richmond*, Lord *Sandwich*, and many more perſons of quality, and learning. I intend ſometime to publiſh it.

Aſſuredly St. *Auguſtin* makes a very pertinent obſervation. "We celebrate, *ſays he*, the day of our "Saviour's birth rightly: not becauſe the ſun was "then born, but he that created the ſun.

In the beginnings of the ſucceſsful progreſs of Chriſtianity, we are not to ſuppoſe, the profeſſors ſo very ſolicitous about obſerving feſtivals, and holydays, not eſſential to their main purpoſe; eſpecially whilſt under a ſtate of perſecution. There is no difficulty then in ſuppoſing, that in ſome churches, and even eaſtern ones, and nearer the fountain-head, the true day of

our Saviour's birth might really be loſt. Therefore we may well ſeek it in the weſt, the ſeat of power, and of all public and authentic records relating thereto.

After *Conſtantine the Great*, when the church was united to the ſtate, this iſland of ours became wholly chriſtian, and was govern'd by biſhops, in every ſee; many of whoſe names, both churches and biſhops, are ſtill preſerv'd. The eccleſiaſtical polity here, was the ſame, as in every chriſtian church throughout the world; being govern'd by biſhops, ever ſince our Saviour's time. So that it is altogether unaccountable, that people can perſuade themſelves to think otherwiſe, againſt all hiſtory. But they that are not convinc'd by what Biſhop *Pearſon*, and others have wrote on this argument, are paſt conviction.

Upon the *Saxons* conquering *England*, they drove the inhabitants and religion too, weſtward and northward; and from them (the *Scotch* and *Welſh* of former times,) we ſee many evidences of chriſtianity having been firſt introduc'd by *Aſiatics*. I will mention one, to our preſent purpoſe. In *Scotland*, they celebrate *Chriſtmas*-eve with much mirth, and call the feſtivity by the name of *Hugmenanny*. A word which I conceive to be *Hagionænia, puerperium ſanctum*.

Both that, and all we have ſaid about *Mithras*, confirm us, in rightly celebrating the 25th of *December* for the ſacred nativity.

*Tertullian* who wrote about A. D. 220. ſays, "Chriſtianity flouriſh'd in the very extremities of "*Britain* where the *Roman* arms could not penetrate."

The

The *Welſh* or *Cimbri* immediately receiv'd the faith from St. *Paul*. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *France* in the IId century (after leaving off fable) tells us, about A. D. 168, the time of the 5th perſecution under *Aurelius* ſon of *Antonine*, the Chriſtian name began to be known by martyrdoms. For it paſs'd the *Alps* very late into *Gaul*.

In diſcourſing on matters of antiquity, 'tis fit we ſhould temper curioſity and uſe in a reaſonable proportion. Let us then take a review of the evidence, ariſing from what has been ſaid.

The enquiry is, whether the coin with ORIVNA AVG. be the wife of *Carauſius?* we have remov'd the moſt plauſible objection, that 'tis FORTVNA AVG. by obſerving, there are no ſymbols of Fortune, to countenance ſuch a ſuſpicion. 2. Tho' we have no poſitive notice of ſuch a perſon as ORIVNA in hiſtory, yet this is no reaſonable objection in the caſe. We ſcarce know any thing of the great man her husband, but from his medals. He lived at a period, whereof there is but little hiſtory preſerv'd, and that chiefly wrote by *Greeks*, who lived at *Conſtantinople*, far diſtant from *Britain*. We have ſhown too, many parallel inſtances of empreſſes, and even of emperors too, quite unrecorded in hiſtory, now extant; and only known by medals.

From the numerous and curious coins of *Carauſius*, very ſtrong arguments are produc'd, to prove, that he was marry'd, and had a ſon: who, as cuſtomary, was declar'd *Princeps juventutis*: In conſequence of which,

he

he preſided at the celebration of the *Trojan* games, annually held. Theſe games became fixt on the emperor's birth-day. But from the time of *Aurelian* the emperor, they and all other games were moſt generally abſorbed in the high feſtival of the birth-day of *Mithras*, *Sol*, *Invictus*, and celebrated about the day of the winter-ſolſtice.

We have ſhewn that *Mithras* was held in great veneration in *Britain*, as well as over the whole *Roman* empire: and taken occaſion from hence, to explain thoſe conjugate coins of *Carauſius*, having a young radiate head, along with the emperor's; and a whip before it. Which young head is the emperor's ſon, in the character of *Sol*, *Invictus*, at whoſe races he rode as captain. About this time, or a little ſooner, they fixed theſe annual *Mithriac* horſe-races on the 25th of *December*; out of ſpite to the Chriſtian ſolemnity of our Saviour's nativity.

Count *Zabarella* an *Italian* writer expreſly declares, that *Carauſius* had a ſon, but informs us not, whence his intelligence is deriv'd. To all our reaſonings, the coins we have produc'd add a degree of certainty, not at preſent to be debated.

After explaining the particulars of the figure of ORIVNA on our coin, and eſpecially that remarkable one behind her, of a hand and garland; I ſhew her name to be *Gauliſh*, and equivalent to the *Latin* *Lucia*, *Lucillia*, *Lucina*: moſt probably a lady of *Romano-Gallic* origin. *Zabarella* affirms her to have been of *Gaul*.

That

That the *Mithriac* feſtival was held on the 25th of *December*, is a ſtrong argument in favour of our rightly celebrating our Saviour's nativity on that day, which we have briefly conſider'd, and the ſtate of Chriſtianity then in *Britain*. I have added from *Scaliger*, what I take to be a demonſtration of it. We have good evidence, that St. *Paul* preach'd the Goſpel at *Chicheſter*, whoſe *Roman* name was *Regnum*. I have ſhewn the year of St. *Paul*'s releaſement from priſon, at *Rome*: from whence he came to preach the Goſpel in *Spain* and *Britain*; and pointed out the method of proving theſe dates, from the ſolemn games and feſtivals of the *Romans*.

It is evident, that the firſt chriſtianity of *Britain*, *that* before *Auſtin* the monk, came from *Aſia*: and it flouriſh'd here, ſooner than on the oppoſite continent, both becauſe of idolatry prevailing more on the continent; as that there, they felt more the effects of war. There they had not the Druid religion ſo pure, as with us; which not a little favoured Chriſtianity; as being the remains of the old patriarchal religion, of which Chriſtianity is but a republication.

*F I N I S.*

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*E R R A T A.*

Page 10. line 5. read *Princeps* p. 17. l. 2. *ſoft*; *Mihr.* p. 39. l. 17. *Rome, made the*

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